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ABSTRACT

This textbook develops a cross-cultural portrait of Latin America. Four major sections are concerned with the cultural blueprint, historical and social foundations, the social structure, and intellectual and economic life. Subchapters include: (1) the rise of the Spanish people, (2) administration and jurisprudence, (3) the church, (4) the personality heritage, (5) early New World civilizations, (6) Spanish America to independence, (7) independence and its problems, (8) social background, (9) attitudes and beliefs, (10) customs and practices, (11) education and intellectualism, (12) art and tradition, (13) ethics and linguistic usage, and (14) economics and business administration. A bibliography is provided. (RL)

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SPANISH AMERICAN CUSTOMS, CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

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1968

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The above quotation, beside the library at the Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores in the city of Monterrey State of Nuevo León, United States of México, could be but is not necessarily, the motto for "Tec." It is, however, the philosophy of the Spanish American in epigrammatic form.

PREFACE

Most people are interested in travel, are quite curious about the behavior of other peoples or nationalities and are eager to hear about it. The meat of any good traveller's tale is not the strange places it tells about but the "queer people." Stories of alien customs are the gossip of our species and they and travelogues are listened to with the same mixture of smug self-satisfaction and acknowledged envy which makes the smaller gossip of one's own society so delectable. The greatest of all international gossips, Herodotus, devotes much of his history to what we would call today descriptions of culture. He even goes so far as to point out some of the more outstanding differences between Greek and Egyptian customs, with genuine surprise that these barbarians retired to the house to perform their private functions instead of taking to the street in civilized Greek fashion. In other words, what "we" do is the only "civilized" way. The modern term is ethnocentrism.

The unabashed egotism required to undertake such a study as is presented here can be excused only on the basis of man's lack of knowledge concerning himself and the need to fill the void. In this light, any small and humble contributions, where so few are available, may be acceptable for they may add to the small store of knowledge available in this field. A proper scientific study would require that one be at least a specialist in each of the disciplines of sociology, psychology, anthropology and philosophy, to name a few, and be bilingually fluent in two languages with all that this implies with reference to a thorough understanding of the two cultures involved in the study. Since all this seems not to fall within the realm of the probable at present, perhaps a study based on first-hand observation and research over many years will not be unacceptable.

The experience of teaching the Spanish language to English-speaking students and vice versa, on both sides of the Rio Grande, invariably left a sense of dissatisfaction. There was the feeling that something was lacking, that more was needed to make the language come alive and to facilitate learning. After all, they are living languages and should not be studied as dead ones. While meditating upon the problems, which the students struggled with, in the light of my own use of the language over the years, a possible solution for the problem began to take form. It soon became clear that while I had learned the language in context, in the common, everyday situations of life, my students had not the slightest conception of the situation in which the language is used. Furthermore, textbooks furnished no genuine aid or comfort. This situation soon resolved itself into a realization that what the Anglo student needs is an image of the Spanish-speaking person functioning in the normal situations of life.

The result was a first and somewhat crude attempt at a course in Spanish American Customs and Culture. The experience of teaching the course repeatedly prompted additions, revisions and reorganizations that eventually resulted in the necessity of re-writing the entire course once more. This in turn made it necessary to re-think and reorganize with the result that the course has also become a study in personality.

The fruit of it all is presented in this limited, experimental edition with the hope that more teaching and study of the living organism will produce a revised edition, worthy of the people whom it purports to interpret in some small degree, and more useful to the student of Spanish and the overseas worker. Comments and criticism will be welcomed with joy as long as their intention is to produce a better understanding of the Spanish American personality and the Spanish language.

Reginald C. Reindorp

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Credit has been given the respective substantiating authors at the appropriate points in the body of the context. The references at the end of each chapter include these and a few additional readings that may be useful to the interested reader. Others, however, had no place in the context yet should receive their just due.

Among these are the many Spanish American friends to whom a deep debt of gratitude is owed for their hospitality, their friendship and their cooperation in our numerous undertakings and relationships over the span of a life time, especially for what they have so graciously given of themselves. Only the smallest portion of this debt of gratitude could possibly be discharged in this offering on the altar of inter-American friendship.

Credit is also due to the numerous students who "suffered" through and made pertinent contributions to the development of this course.

The Organization of American States is entitled to important recognition and deep appreciation for the research Grant through the Pan American Union which made it possible to spend the entire summer of 1966 in Mexico in research on recent trends and developments in Spanish America.

Finally, this page would be ungratefully incomplete without a recognition of the great debt due to my wife, Trudy, for her patience, tact and typing assistance and for her moral support, inspiration and encouragement when the going was rough.

Reginald C. Reindorp

INTRODUCTION

In Perspective

Americans (U.S.A. variety) are frequently given to wondering why other peoples act so "strange," why they do things so differently. They often ask, "What makes other peoples act the way they do?" Then, when they go abroad they fail to realize that it is they who are the foreigners and not the people whose country they are visiting.

Taking a global look, Anglos are probably the strangest people of all with the most difficult language, the most unusual ideas, manners and customs and the queerest way of thinking about things. Through it all they seldom realize that they have very few differences with the English in spite of the oft quoted statement by H. L. Mencken that Great Britain and the United States are two great countries separated by a common language. The differences are so few because they have a common origin and had lived together for so many centuries before they separated. As time goes on the diversity sharpens, but in the meantime the common origins hold both countries together or at least furnish many common interests.

It is the lack of these common origins and the possession of different languages that give rise to the differences in customs, culture and manners. Isolated groups of people in prehistoric times looked at the world and life with different eyes. At the same time and for unknown reasons they selected different groups of sounds to form their separate languages. The viewpoint imposed the structure; later the structure imposed the viewpoint and the ideas. Or, as has been so aptly said, we began by speaking as we thought and ended by thinking as we speak. In other words, language has become the mold of thought.

After language began to appear it became instrumental in the development of culture and culture in turn influenced language. The result is that each cultural group is quite divergent from the others. Hence, to understand a people we must study their language, their origins no matter how far back they go, and their development.

As we undertake this study of Spanish American culture and personality it will be well to put the contrasting Anglos in their proper relationship to the other peoples of this world; let us put them in proper perspective. For this purpose, suppose for a few minutes that the total population of the world is represented by 1,000 persons. What, then, would be the relative position of the Anglos in this group?

According to the American Bible Society, in this population of 1,000 there would be 60 Americans (U.S.A. variety); the remainder of the world would be represented by 940 persons. This is the propor-

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tion of the American people to the population of the world . . . 60 to 940.

The 60 Americans would have half the income of the entire group, with the other 940 sharing the other half.

About 330 people would be classified as Christians; the other 670 would not. Fewer than 100 would be Protestant Christians, and some 230 would be Roman Catholics. At least 80 would be practicing Communists, and 370 others would be under Communist domination. White people would total 303, with 697 non-white.

Half of the 1,000 people would never have heard of Jesus Christ or what he taught. On the other hand, more than half would be hearing about Karl Marx, Lenin and Stalin.

The 60 Americans would have an average life expectancy of 70 years; the other 940, less than 40 years on the average. The 60 Americans would have an average of 15 times as many possessions per person as all the rest of the people and would produce 16% of the total food supply. Although they eat 72% above the maximum food requirements, they would either eat most of what they grew, or store it for their own future use at enormous cost.

Since most of the 940 non-Americans would be hungry most of the time, it could lead to some ill feeling toward the 60 Americans, who would appear to be enormously rich and fed to the point of sheer disbelief by the great majority of the people. The Americans would also have a disproportionate share of electric power, coal, fuel, steel, and general equipment.

The 60 Americans and about 200 others representing Western Europe and a few favored classes in other areas in South America, South Africa, Australia, and a few wealthy Japanese would be relatively well off. But the majority of the 1,000 people would be ignorant, poor, hungry, and sick.

The American families would be spending at least $850 a year for military defense, but less than $4.00 a year to share their religious faiths with the other people in the community; many wouldn't even be grateful enough to be thankful for the privilege of being Americans. Quite a few would pass up an education, even though hundreds of others elsewhere would give anything to obtain it.

Now that Anglos have been placed in proper perspective for all time, let us not forget some stark realities. Anglos are in the proportion of 60 to 940 of the world's population with the highest (and most desirable) standard of living in the world. If they do not share some of their well-being, others may decide to take it all. As few as they are against the many, what chance would the Anglos have when they are so vulnerable from all sides including the air, not to mention the tactics of infiltration.

Suppose Latin America were to join forces with the Anglos, all together there would still be only 120 against 880. Because of their proximity — being right on the United States' front doorstep — the Anglos had better make friends with Latin American people or never have even a chance to put up a fight in self defense. But to make friends of them is not a simple matter of patronizing, good intentions coupled with handing out millions of dollars. In fact, this is the reason for failure in so much of Anglo foreign aid, not only in Latin America, but elsewhere.

Friends are made only among equals whom one understands. To understand Spanish Americans, which is the purpose here, it immediately becomes necessary to know not only the language, but also the customs, culture and manners. Just as one accepts, understands and perhaps makes allowances for friends at home, so must one learn to accept and understand the even more divergent ways of living, doing, thinking and behaving of other peoples who are not exactly the same, who do not have the same ambitions, hopes, standards, likes and dislikes that seem so important. Theirs are equally as important to them and they possess values which often are useful to others. They are neither inferior nor superior. They serve their purposes in an excellent manner.

Who do you Americans think you are?

Anglo Americans are somewhat conceited as is demonstrated by the fact that they insist on calling themselves Americans. The fact is that they have no more right to this name than do another two hundred million people.

As insulting to the intelligence as it may seem to make the statement, Columbus did not discover the United States . . . neither did Amerigo or Americus Vespucci give his name to the United States. Columbus discovered the New World and Vespucci gave his first name to the same area. The New World embraces everything between Bering Strait north of Canada and the Strait of Magellan south of Argentina, and this is what Vespucci's first name was applied to. Therefore, any one from Central, South or Middle America is as much an American as any one else from the New World, including Canada.

Since people from the United States are not the only Americans, how may they be specifically designated? What may they call their country? The United States is not a distinctive name since there are the United States of Mexico, of Brazil and of Venezuela. In the same way North America is not applicable for the purpose since Central America, Canada and Mexico are all in North America.

Latin Americans have been kind to Anglos and allowed them to call themselves Americans or North Americans because they understood, went along and avoided embarrassment by themselves using the same expressions. It is time that Anglos found a name for themselves and their country.

In the meantime there may be a little more accuracy in the use of the terms applied to the countries and peoples south of the Rio Bravo.

The expression "Latin American" has been and will be used repeatedly and includes all 21 of the other American republics south of the Rio Grande. On the other hand, the term Spanish American includes only those American republics whose population, language and culture derive in the main from the Spanish-speaking Iberian peninsula commonly known as Spain. This automatically eliminates some of the Latin American countries such as Haiti, which is French, and Brazil, a country of Portuguese language, customs and culture. Hence, the terms used hereafter will be Spanish American or Spanish-speaking people or republics, Hispanic America and Hispanic Americans.

With these things behind us we are ready to look into the origins of the people of Spanish America. This takes us to Spain which in turn directs our attention to the origins of the Spanish people, their customs and culture, their language and character.

The War's Over . . . ? Glad to Have Met You

Often in the past Anglo America, in time of national jeopardy, has courted Latin America for its military aid, natural resources and manpower only to turn away as if from a poor relation when the emergency ceased. Fortunately and hopefully this situation no longer exists and it may be that there is a growing tendency for the neighbors to get better acquainted with each other. Perhaps the Anglo will even discover that the neighbors, in spite of their differences, have some very important cultural values to offer. To appreciate this fact the Anglos must learn to respect themselves and from this learn to respect others. Then, out of mutual respect and good will, it will be possible to penetrate the differences and perceive the good.

It is essential to understand from the outset that there are great differences between Anglo America on the one hand and the Latin American Republics taken together on the other. In short, these great differences arise from widely separated cultural heritages. Also there are slight differences among those Republics themselves. These differences are not simple boundary lines and geography but also ways of life, thinking, feeling, living and differences in philosophy, psychology, history, literature and even of language, yet they are all made out of the same cloth.

To lay a foundation on which to begin to establish and understand these differences, the several countries are listed in alphabetical order in a table in Appendix I. With each country certain superficial information of use and interest is included. A characterizing nickname or epithet follows the country's name. Then come figures on population, area, monetary unit, language, date of independence, national heroes and other data. This will serve as an introduction so that each country will seem to have its own identity and character.

At the same time it should be borne in mind that in spite of occasional boundary disputes, more often than not the Spanish American is startled by international boundaries. To him Spanish Americans are all one big family and if one country is attacked there is cooperation and solidarity in defense among all of them. In language and cultural heritage they are alike basically, they think alike and thinking in one country is as valid for all as it is for the one.

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Part I

The Cultural Blueprint

Chapter I

The Rise of The Spanish People

Early Inhabitants

Spain, which was to discover and play so great a part in the colonization of the New World, was herself discovered and colonized at least once. The country is broken into many rugged and isolated parts by mountain ranges, vast areas of barren tableland, torrential rivers and fertile bands of coastland. As a consequence, the inhabitants of river valleys such as the Ebro, the Douro, Tagus, Guadiana and Guadalquivir, insulated by sierras and mountain ranges, could not help but look upon each other as strangers with a tendency to mutual suspicion, distrust and ill will. The Cantabrian Mountains, the Guadarramas, the Sierra Morena, the Sierra Nevada and many lesser ranges, as they sweep across the country, are a pointed hindrance to the achievement of national unity which was destined to be an accomplishment of great social and political difficulty. In fact, the geographical condition of the land has contributed to one of the most deeply rooted Spanish traditions, the tradition on which nearly all other Spanish traditions depend: personal and political separatism.

According to Trend, in his book titled *The Civilization of Spain*, not much is known about the first inhabitants except that at least some of them were prehistoric cave dwellers at Altamira. This much is known because paintings of bison, horses, reindeer, and wild boars were found on the walls of the caves.

According to Greek and Roman historians, the natives of the peninsula were Iberians and Celts and a mixed race formed by intermarriage between the two. The Iberians had taken possession of the richest portions of the peninsula, namely Andalusia and the coastal lands as far as the Rhone. These people were sophisticated, commercial and artistic.

The more war-like Iberians of the northeast were the ancestors of the Catalans; the Iberians of Valencia were the most gifted sculptors and vase painters. The Tartessians of Andalusia were luxurious, clean (they used soap), highly civilized and strongly averse to fighting. According to some historians they had laws written in verse, the chiefs lived in sumptuous palaces and used gold and silver table service. Their dancers are believed to have been famous.

The Iberian artists learned much from the Greeks, but they gave what came to be a Spanish twist to all their work. They liked to represent animals, flowers and natural subjects and even at this early date they showed an interest in bulls, which seemingly is continued to this day in the bull fights of Spain and Spanish America; in the ceramic bulls made by hand in Pucará, Peru, and so highly prized everywhere. This skill has been handed down traditionally from generation to generation, as in the case of the ceramics of Ilobasco in El Salvador, and the ceramic dishes and tiles of Puebla, Mexico, and others.

The Celts had made their home in the west and northwest of seventh century Spain. They were excellent fighters, but it was a custom for the warriors to swear to follow their chief unconditionally and uncritically, and not to survive his death. Some of the qualities for which both the Celts and the Iberians were noted can still be recognized today: their hospitality, their grand manners, their arrogance, and above all their love of freedom which was demonstrated in their fierce resistance to conquerors and fanatical defense of beseiged cities such as Saguntum and Numantia, the latter being celebrated in one of Cervantes' plays. The land has bred people of different sorts, but nearly all of them stubborn.

The conquest of Spain was forced upon Rome as a military necessity to protect Italy against Carthage. Then came the knowledge of the silver of Cartagena and the Pyrenees, and the gold of Calatayud and Río Tinto; and gradually but surely all the Spanish metals and mines were depleted. The conquest required two centuries, but so complete was the assimilation that a hundred years afterwards, Trajan, a Spaniard, was chosen to be ruler of the Roman Empire. Spaniards were filling high military and civil offices and the leading Latin writers were Spanish as often as Italian. However, let us bear in mind that there were no Spaniards at this time, and that "Spanish" as used here means from the Iberian Peninsula.

Before the Roman conquest, even hundreds of years before the Christian era, Phoenician mariners from Tyre had sailed up the Mediterranean and established settlements on the southern coast of Spain at or near Cádiz and elsewhere. The settlement at Cádiz was known as Tartessus to the Romans and as Tarshish to the Jews who gave it Biblical fame. It is mentioned in the Book of Kings.

The Greeks, too, established trading posts along the Catalan shore and farther north. But the Greeks had far less influence than the Phoenicians. The Carthaginians played a much more important part in Spanish history. They were invited by the Phoenicians to help defend Cádiz against the Iberians. They came as allies and stayed as masters. Not long afterwards, the Roman conquest obliterated nearly all traces of Phoenicians, Greeks and Carthaginians and set the stage for the development of a new people, the Spaniards.

It was the *Iberians*, according to Sedgwick, in his book titled *Spain*, who were to become the Spaniards. These natives were tall and fair, grave, sober, and stubborn, vivid in imagination, florid and rhetorical in speech and subtle of understanding. One or more of these traits is to be found in Spanish American countries today. Historians have described them as ferocious, courageous and proud and of a false and perfidious nature.

A tribe of Iberians which occupied what is now the southern portion of Portugal was described as agile and quick, slept on the ground, wore dark garments, bathed in cold water and ate but one meal a day which consisted of water and acorn bread. Other tribes were of a gayer spirit, enjoyed barley beer, the dance, and song in chorus. This is the type that inhabited Andalusia, blond children of sunshine and the fertile earth, whose descendents even today, many of them scattered over America, never speak of their native land and the happy disposition of its people without a romantic affection: *las bellezas de nuestras tierras, el fulgor de su sol, el encanto de las costumbres y la alegría y la jovialidad del carácter hispano*. This tribe was much the most civilized and had developed poetry, history, and a legal code of sorts over a period of some six thousand years. Little of all this remains, and some historians question that it ever existed, while others — not quite such patriotic Spaniards — report that the Iberians were restless and rebellious. Nevertheless, the remnants of their culture speak for themselves, especially their art. This art, according to Sedgwick, is essentially Iberian . . . the simplicity of the statuettes of men, their sturdy bodies, plain garments, their short thick hair which they brushed and combed man-fashion, their virile, strongly marked faces with big, honest eyes and solemn expression, all these characteristics combine to delineate a special type. They give us the impression of a stout, hardy race, while the earrings, bracelets and anklets bespeak a youthful spirit and a primitive taste for gaudy glitter. In the more important statues there is a dignity, a nobiltiy and a devout religious feeling.

It would be unfair to omit mention at this time of one of the more famous statues. This one, now in the Louvre, and the most famous of all is known as *La Dama de Elche*. It is a half-length figure, originally colored, that was unearthed in the vicinity of the little town of Elche in eastern Spain not far from Valencia. It represents a noble looking woman in rich and strange oriental headdress, adorned with hanging tassels. There are two great ornaments, shaped like chariot wheels, placed like a horse's blinders over her ears. There is disagreement as to the origin of this statue, but the consensus seems to be that it is Iberian.

Romanization

As indicated previously, the Roman conquest was slow, but it was also thorough. Spain became almost as completely Latin as Italy itself. The less civilized race accepted to a large extent the ways and customs of the conquerors, partly because it was forced upon them but mainly because of the instinct of imitation and the obvious advantage of currying favor with the conqueror. They accepted the discipline of the Romans, their coins, measures and their military science, their roads, masonry, carpentry, their smiths, shipwrights and system of government, their enforcement of order, the mode of conducting business, their oratory, books and whatever else belonged to Roman civilization. The simpler and less sophisticated practices of the Iberians were swept away. The proof of this transformation lies in the names of cities, the Roman structures still standing, and perhaps most of all, the list of inhabitants who became Emperors or held the highest places in Latin literature. A few of those names include Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Hadrian and Theodosius among the political figures; in literature we find Seneca, Lucan, both of whom showed a dominant trait of extravagant emotion that has remained in Spanish utterance ever since wherever the language is spoken, and finally Martial and Quintilian.

It may be useful to dwell a moment on Quintilian. He came from the valley of the Ebro, said to be a country of sobriety, obstinacy and common sense. He was a teacher at Rome and Vespasian endowed him with a chair of rhetoric out of public funds. He taught Speech and found it necessary to give rules for the training of public speakers. By doing so he wrote the first teaching book or textbook for education, specifically a speech textbook. His book has been described as a practical guide, free from abstruse, philosophical and psychological theories. It reveals a shrewd teacher seriously at work with a simplicity and directness deserving of emulation.

The greatest proof of all showing the complete Romanization of the Iberian peninsula is the Spanish language, *la lengua castellana,* as the Spaniards call it. It is a Romance language that has grown out of the language of the Romans. The original Iberian speech, unless represented by the Basque, seems to have disappeared. Small contributions to the language were made by the Basques, the Greeks, the Germanic tribes and the Arabs. But these were so thoroughly assimilated that Spanish seems to flow as directly from the Latin as Italian does.

Under the Roman rule, probably the second or third century, those who were to become Spaniards were converted to Christianity. After this they began to feel some separate national consciousness apart from the Roman Empire. Perhaps this is seen in Hasius, Bishop of Córdoba, who wrote to the Emperor firmly forbidding him to meddle in church affairs. This is one of the earliest outbursts of the church-state conflict that was to become so bloody in a later century.

Spain has always had certain never-ending problems which different governments have dealt with in different ways. The chief of these is customarily described as Spanish separatism. They were said to be bad mixers or hard to unite. Many administrations have attempted cures by over-centralization, others by granting an unusual degree of local autonomy. The result was a high degree of local autonomy both in the large divisions of Spain and in the towns or feudal estates with a vigorous local feeling or a strong patriotism to the *partria chica*. This may be seen in full strength in Lope de Vega's powerful drama *Fuente Ovejuna* in which the hero is the whole village.

The dismemberment of the Roman Empire began in the early years of the fifth century. Spain shared the common lot with tribes of barbarians swarming into the peninsula. They stayed but a short time and left little or no impression.

The story is different with the advent of the Visigoths for they stayed nearly three hundred years. Yet they contributed little to what was to become the Spanish nation. The best that can be said of them is that they were an example of courage, personal independence and self-respect. They introduced some laws and customs that promoted a higher standard of manliness and they were not wild barbarians. For two generations they had lived along the Danube within or just outside the boundaries of the Empire. They had served in Roman armies, had had dealings with Roman traders and their young nobles could well have been bred in Roman camps or at the Roman court.

In the life of the Visigoths the family played an important role. It was construed to include all those descended from the same trunk instead of following the individualistic basis of Rome, although individuals still had considerable liberty. Members of the family were expected to aid and protect one another and an offense against one was against all, a characteristic which has carried over to contemporary Spanish America. A woman could not marry without the consent of her family which sold her to the favored candidate for her hand. She must remain faithful to her husband and subject to his will, but he was allowed to have concubines. Nevertheless, she had a right to share in property earned after marriage, and to have the use of a deceased husband's estate, provided she did not marry again. A man might make a will, but must leave four-fifths of his property to his descendants. Children were subject to their parents, but the latter did not have the earlier right of life and death, and the former might acquire some property of their own.

The Visigoths were not an urban people like the Romans. They tended to scatter in the country and lived in fortified villages where a noble with his armed followers and servants held forth and formed the principal center of life, social affairs and mutual assistance. The cities tended to remain Hispano Roman in character and their manner of life was imitated more and more by the Visigoths. There was a laxity in customs which went so far that priests openly married and brought up families despite the prohibitions of the law. Superstition was rampant and included such practices as celebrating a mass for an enemy who was still living to accelerate his death. Doctors were forbidden to cure women except in the presence of appropriate witnesses and they were held responsible for the effect of their medicines.

One of the popular diversions of the period seems to be a form of bull-fighting. Industry, commerce and agriculture fell behind as did general culture and education. Such industry and commerce as there was were both in the hands of Jews and Greeks and others. Latin became the dominant tongue and Gothic speech and writing disappeared.

One of the great writers of the time was Saint Isidore, Archbishop of Seville in the seventh century. He represented the ideas of the Spanish clergy. He maintained that political power was of divine origin, but that the State must protect the church. He supported the ideas of hereditary succession and the prestige and inviolability of the kings as the best means of securing peace.

In architecture the Visigoths followed the Romans, but on a smaller and poorer scale. It is worth noting the Byzantine influences in the fine arts, particularly in the jewelry of the period.

Having become firmly settled in Spain, the Visigoths became a military aristocracy, scornful of the more peaceful natives, yet conscious of their superior Latin civilization. To leave their imprint upon Spain they would have to unite the various peoples into one nation. In this they failed and thereby set the pattern for several centuries to come. It must be granted that the task was greatly hindered by the differences of law and of religion as well as those of race.

About the middle of the seventh century, however, the Gothic and Roman legal codes were combined into one system, known in Spanish as the *Fuero Juzgo,* which did away with an old prohibition of marriage between the two peoples.

The barrier of religion was another matter. The Arian Visigoths denied the dogma that the Father and the Son are of the same substance while the Spaniards were orthodox Catholics. In order to form a genuine political union one side or the other must give way.

Without going into the historical details that led up to it, the union finally came about because of an intelligent Gothic King. Reccard read the signs of the times and realized that a house divided against itself cannot stand; the minority must yield to the majority. He turned Catholic himself and persuaded various bishops and noble men to do the same. He then convoked a council at Toledo in 589 A. D. and made public announcement of his conversion.

The happy union, both legal and religious, of the Iberian peninsula was marred by one unfortunate circumstance or consequence. There now began a persecution of the Jews that was sometimes most cruel and always unjust. They were excluded from public office, not allowed to hold slaves, made subject to ecclesiastical government, forbidden to read books not approved by the church, denied rights of trading, sometimes deprived of their children and often baptized by force. No wonder the Jews were ready and willing to help the Moorish invaders during their conquest of Spain. This added fuel to the fire that, in the end, was to forge a caste system.

The Gothic rulers were still faced with practical difficulties. They strove to make the crown hereditary, while the nobles clung tenaciously to their ancient Teutonic right of election and also practiced the custom of killing their king whenever he displeased them and raising another whom they preferred. On the one hand, they rejected the king's attempts to impose the rule of law and order, yet on the other hand they insisted upon complete freedom to deal arbitrarily with the inhabitants of their baronies. There was no idea of loyalty to a common good. The clergy cared only for the welfare of the church. Great landowners added farms to farms, fields to acres and swallowed up small landowners as in Roman times. The yoemen could hardly feed their children, the serfs were bound to the soil; all these and the slaves looked on with vegetable indifference to political changes. Their one aim was to evade military service, what was there worth fighting for? Already, disorganization was about to reduce the whole to a shambles of anarchy.

When ruin came, little was left of the Gothic kingdom except tradition and legend. Gothic blood was held in high esteem as proof of aristocracy, very much as Norman blood in England, and every great family traced its pedigree back to some Gothic nobleman.

The time was ripe for another invasion and it was not long in coming. The fall of the Gothic kingdom and its immediate causes are recited in Spanish legend, in the old romances or ballads and in more accurate historical accounts. For the purpose in hand it can be painted quickly in bold strokes of the brush.

Mohammedan Spain

The Moors entered Spain in 711 and it took only a few years (711-718 A.D.) to overrun the entire peninsula. Regardless of its importance to higher civilization, the conquest by the Moors is of far-reaching consequences in the history of Spain — second only to the influence of the Romans — and in the history of Spanish America. The reconquest took nearly eight centuries and throughout the entire time one or another part, if not the whole country, was under the powerful influence of the Mohammedan laws, religion, customs, ideas and way of living.

After the conquest, the Spaniards were confined to the mountainous country of the north and west, in the Pyrenees, in Asturias and in Galicia. In these districts the town life of the Roman Empire had hardly developed at all. Then, and even now, the inhabitants were scattered in small groups and "unoccupied Spain" consisted of empty wastes with small oases where crops were grown by serfs.

The fluid dividing line or frontier between the two peoples wavered and moved slowly and irregularly southward as the reconquest took place. It began with the exploits of the Christian King Pelayo who died in 737. The first battle was fought at the cave of Covadonga in Asturias. Many exploits are attributed to Pelayo and they have led to many and patriotic effusions of a lyrical nature. Legends and ballads (romances) have grown up around this first event in the reconquest of the Iberian peninsula.

The battle of Cavadogna in 718 A.D. was probably a small affair and the people of the time undoubtedly thought of it only in terms of having won this particular skirmish. In all probability there was no thought for the future significance or, for that matter, of its part in the total reconquest of the peninsula. Yet it had great moral results and, as claimed by legend and many historians, could well have been the turning point in Spanish fortunes, the beginning of the reconquest.

The one who may perhaps be called the first national hero is Saint James the Greater or Santiago, the patron saint of Spain. He was supposed to have been buried in Spain, but the location of the grave was long lost. Of the stories of the rediscovery only one will be retold here and this because of its connection with the name of the location. This story has it that a bishop was guided by a star to the spot which thereafter was known as the burial spot of Santiago and has since been called Compostela, from the Latin *Campus Stellae*, the field of the star. There are other stories, but suffice it to say that his name became a national symbol and his tomb attracted pilgrims from all over Europe. The supposed burial place is now known as Santiago Compostela.

That which makes the stories, legends and ballads (*romances*) of Spain so fascinating is the fact that so many of them are centered on real people and events. Pelayo and Santiago were real flesh and blood heroes and much has been sung and written about them. The next one of these to be included here is no less real and historical and probably more original. More early writing about him has been preserved because he appeared a century and a half later.

This is the famous *Cid Campeador*, or Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar whose dates (1040-1099) are known with greater certainty than those of most of his predecessors. *Mío* Cid was not only a man of flesh and blood but also of double personality and a soldier of fortune. He would lead his band of adventurers into battle, on either side, for or against the Moslems or the Christians, for hire or for booty. He broke treaties, cheated Jews, sacked churches, mocked all notions of loyalty and did whatever came naturally. But he lives in glorious romance, ballad, legend and chronicle as the hero of a militant nation. In fact, it is with the *Poema del Cid* that Spanish literature begins. With the exception of a legal document or two, it is probably the oldest literary monument in the Spanish language, yet it was sung and chanted by troubadors for a century before it was ever set down in writing. It is also one of the noblest and most realistic pieces of all Spanish literature to which the fanciful Beowulf can hardly hold a candle.

This ballad, or epic poem, has some 3,730 lines and narrates most of the adult life of Rodrigo with all its good and bad fortunes, vicissitudes, afronts, glories and joys, and some tender lyrical moments. Space does not allow all these events to be set down here and the reader is referred to the poem itself or any of its translations. The final exploit, however, is worthy of mention in as much as it involves the capture of Valencia (1087) and the defeat of a relieving army. It will be recalled that this event is significant in the reconquest of Spain.

More than a hundred years ago Southey said that this epic is by far the finest in Spanish and no one has yet disagreed with him. Menéndez y Pelayo, one of the most outstanding critics of Spanish literature, says that the poem is the product of a mysterious art that works like nature herself, and is of necessity, lost in the modern day of scholarship and printing. He describes it as profoundly national, passionately patriotic and manifesting the qualities of the Castilian spirit: high temper, a grave manner of speech, a noble simplicity, dignified courtesy, loftiness without affectation, solid rather than brilliant imagination, and an ardent piety.

To return to the Spanish towns and settlements, they were of mixed origins and most of them had been there since Roman times or earlier. Some, however, were of Visigothic origin or had sprung up suddenly wherever there was a reason for carrying on trade, or a strategic location for military defense of territory regained from the Moslems. There was a consequent conflict between the Visigothic and Roman laws which continued to be a source of friction. A Visigothic king realized the import of this situation and had the foresight to combine the two legal systems into a uniform code which was as happy a medium between the two as could be found for the times. This code was later revised and improved and became the *Lex Visigothorum.* It subsequently became more popularly known as the *Fuero Juzgo,* mentioned previously, and exerted an important influence because *fueros* were often privileges granted by kings to communities or villages which frequently extended to individuals who took up residence in them.

Whenever the Moslems had been defeated and the original inhabitants had been killed or enslaved, repopulation was urgent. For the purpose of encouraging people to come there to live the kings granted *fueros.* Thus runaway slaves could take refuge in these districts or communities and were recognized as citizens. In many cases, Jews and Moslems were included as well as Christians. The *fuero* of Miranda (1099) expressly states that it applies to all the inhabitants, Moslems or Jews.

One of the privileges granted to certain communities in those primitive regions was another of the peculiarities of Spain. They were allowed to choose their own lord and to change him when they were no longer content with him. In some districts the choice was limited to a single noble family, other places could take a lord from anywhere in Spain.

Some Spanish towns had other privileges and were getting rich on industry and commerce. As they grew large and strong they began to demand more than simple local administration. Gradually the town council acquired the power to act by itself, especially in the administration of justice. Thus the *fueros*, the rights and provileges of the towns, were developed and defined by charter so that they became independent of each other and a law unto themselves.

As remarked previously, the long domination by the Moors left its stamp upon the country and this will be studied in a later chapter for its influence on personality. But their strongest and most powerful influence was undoubtedly felt in Andalusia. There the architecture, monuments, dwellings, the ways and customs of the people, and still more conspicuously, their physical characteristics proclaim a Berber or Arab inheritance. Since the emigration to America was mainly from the south of Spain, a tincture of Moorish blood and the Andalusian pronunciation are probably to be found in almost all the Spanish-speaking peoples of America from New Mexico and California to Argentina.

The word Moor has been meant to include all those who came to Spain from Africa, but it is inaccurate. In the beginning the two races of Arabs and Berbers were quite distinct. The Arabs were the more civilized and intelligent and are described by Sedgwick as

> " . . . one of the finest types of all races of mankind, tall, thin, fine eyes, aquiline nose, spare frame, walking with dignity, a horseman, poet, treacherous and hospitable, a gentleman and yet inquisitive; destroying the civilization of every land he conquers, and yet capable of great things — witness Granada and Damascus; a metaphysician and historian, sensual and yet abstemious."

On the other hand, the Berbers are:

> " . . . short, squat men with high cheek-bones, small eyes and square frames. They are great walkers, becoming horsemen only by necessity. Strong, terrible, robust men who do not fear snows and cold, they are the greatest thieves and assassins in the world. These people are the primitive inhabitants of Mauretania, the Lybians. Both in appearance and in ways of living they are like the type of Iberians in Spain before the Roman conquest."

These Mohammedan invaders gradually merged into one people, advanced in civilization and reached their zenith in the tenth and eleventh centuries. At the time of the conquest these peoples were separated not only by race, but there were differences of religion and other minor ones, too. It might have been supposed that the domination of an alien dark-skinned race would have united the fair-complected natives into a cohesive, over-powering nation. But they, too, were split by religious disagreement. Consequently, the history of the Moors in Spain is a story of disorganization and disorder.

Early in the seventh century Mahomet began to preach the faith which he originated, a religion of extreme simplicity in its doctrine, but based very largely on the Jewish and Christian creeds. But most of the Mohammedans were not nearly as zealous in their beliefs as they have been made to appear. They were too sceptical and materialistic devotees of an abstract faith.

At this time the Arabs came in contact with the Berbers whom they conquered. The Berbers were a devout and democratic people and they took up the Moslem faith with fanatical enthusiasm. The Moslem faith in Spain thus became enough like Christianity, as was the Jewish faith, to be a great source of friction, irritation and aggravation. This, too, had a strong influence in the development of a later caste system. It was not long until friction and aggravation broke into open persecution, caused by excessive zeal on the part of the Christians. The law inflicted the penalty of death on any one who publicly cursed the founder of the Mohammedan faith. Many Christians, already exasperated by certain harsh measures, began to seek martyrdom by cursing the prophet. Eventually, the church cannonized many of the martyrs. This conflict inordinately intensified belief and loyalty to the respective faiths.

A Mohammedan was allowed to have as many as four wives and a greater number of concubines, all forming the particular individual's harem. Children of legal concubines were held to be legitimate, and this in turn had its repercussions in later centuries. Women enjoyed more liberty than they were supposed to have had and could visit freely with their relatives. The Arabs were very fond of music and dancing and took delight in licentious poetry. Not a little of the pleasure-loving character of the race survives today in Spain.

At first Spain was ruled from north Africa, then it came under the strong government of one of the Amayyads who escaped from Africa and fled to the peninsula. He forced the quarreling Arab and Berber chiefs to acknowledge his authority, declared Spain independent of the Caliph at Bagdad and established himself firmly as monarch of the Spanish Moors with the title of Emir.

A long line of his descendants succeeded to the emirate with varying fortunes. Conspicuous among these passing princes stands one brilliant figure, Abd-er-Rahman III (891-961) who raised Spain to the foremost place in civilization in all Europe. He was a good soldier, a wise ruler, a man of intellectual interests and varied tastes. He put down the disaffected, organized a regular army, encouraged agriculture, commerce, education, literature and architecture. At a time when Rome was in eclipse and all the other cities of Europe — London, Venice, Paris, Antwerp — were untidy medieval towns, Cordoba shown like a golden bowl among vessels of clay in all its glory of beauty and high prosperity.

Students from all the world flocked there to learn the sciences, to study with the doctors, who gathered there. The prosperity of this great city endured two hundred years. At one time the city was said to have 200,000 houses, 600 mosques and 900 bath houses. The great Mosque of Cordova, which is in use today as a Catholic cathedral, was fittingly luxurious. There were modern schools of a private character but there was no public school system. It was the religious who devoted themselves to education yet there were few Moslems who could not read and write. In literacy Spain was ahead of western Europe. Women were given the same education as men and often were outstanding in literature and in scientific studies.

The Spanish Moslems distinguished themselves in architecture and industrial arts, all under Byzantine influences. They painted their buildings in brilliant and variegated colors and preferred brick, plaster and adobe for building materials. They made use of the imported closed court or patio, surrounded by arcades with a fountain in the center.

Another great city of the time, equally praised by scholars then and now, is Seville. It lies on the Guadalquivir half way between Cordoba and the sea. The inhabitants are said to be the merriest people in the world, witty, frivolous, jocose, many of them given to poetry, and nearly all play all sorts of musical instruments: timbrels, lutes, rebecs, viols, dulcimers, harps, sack-buts, guitars, flutes, and clarionets. They sing and drink wine and the only thing forbidden is excess.

Modern scholars have agreed that science, art and literature flourished in Andalusia as nowhere else in Europe. Splendid buildings were erected, and luxury in domestic life was carried to a pitch of refinement unheard of in the north. Women held a place in society far exceeding that of any Christian country of the time or for many centuries later. The Egyptian system of irrigation raised agriculture to a level never before reached by Spain. Fertilizers were introduced; rice, cotton, citrus fruits, silkworms and mulberry trees were imported. Industry was developed and the lead, iron and silver mines were worked. A paper factory was established and it was the first in Europe. A gold lustre was applied to pottery and beautiful glass was made. Fruit of many kinds was grown and preserved for winter use. Tubular stoves were used for heating houses and soap was regarded as one of the necessities of life.

The Arabs were too proud to stoop to agriculture so they leased their lands to peasants for a certain share of the produce. Those who leased state land paid one-third; those on private estates, four-fifths. Through this change the peasants were the gainers for great estates were broken up and each family of peasants acquired its individual patch of land to cultivate. The treatment of the Jews was also enlightened as the Moslems were in many ways far more civilized than the natives. Their arts, irrigation, medicine, various processes of manufacture, conferred great benefits on the peninsula.

Towns and cities have been mentioned and we must not leave the subject without referring to at least one other. First, let it be remembered that in the Dark Ages Greek thought had been mainly in the keeping of men of Arabic speech, long before it reached the Latins and the first real and effective contact of Medieval Europe with Greek science and philosophy took place in Spain through translations from Arabic which were conveyed largely through Hebrew channels. The event which opened up communication between scholars of Moslem Spain and those of England and France was the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 1085. Toledo with the extraordinary mixed population of Moslems, Jews, Mozarabic and Spanish Christians, immigrants from Castile and Leon and ecclesiastics from France, became in the next two centuries a *school of translators* turning Arabic into Latin. When wandering scholars from Oxford, Paris and Salamanca needed help in getting information out of the Arabic, they would travel to Toledo, also famous for its swords, carved leather and ivory. There an accomodating Jewish savant would know where to find an Arabic manuscript of, let's say Aristotle, or one of a medical or musical writer of antiquity which the traveling scholar was seeking. After arranging to borrow it, the scholar and the Jewish interpreter would work together for months on end while one would laboriously turn the Arabic into Latin and the other would write it down. With all the discomforts of the time, the natural difficulties of a linguistic nature, the absence of grammars except those in Arabic and of dictionaries, it is a marvel that the Latin versions of Arabic translations of original Greek documents were not further from the original (and more heretical) than they were. Yet this is the way much of oriental literature and thought came into western civilization.

The Jewish thinkers were not only translators. They also brought to Spain some thinking that had not been there before. Ben Gabriol, known to the Latins as Avicebron, introduced neo-platonic thought to the peninsula (1012-58). Rabbi Ben Ezra (1092-1117), a Spanish Jew who traveled as far as London, taught that material events are inevitable, though the soul is free. The most important Jewish philosopher in Spain, however, was Moses Ben Maimun, known to the Christian world as Maimónides (1135-1204). He was born at Córdoba, but when he was thirteen the city was captured by the Almohades, and Maimónides became a wandering Jew in Spain, Morocco and Palestine before he eventually settled in Cairo. Of all the Spanish philosophers, he is the greatest, from Seneca to Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset. The only constructive thinker to produce a complete system is Maimónides.

Inevitably the Moslem power in Spain began to recede as the reconquest proceded southward, and as it did the Jews came under the less tolerant rule of Christians. At the same time the language of learning ceased to be Arabic. But the philosophic thought of Moslems and Jews converged in one great outpouring, the *Summa contra gentiles* by St. Thomas Aquinas which was intended to be a refutation of the Spanish thinkers. St. Thomas in all probability owed more than his defenders are ready to admit to Maimónides. This is especially true, as Trend says, in matters of the relation of reason to revelation, Divine attributes, God's knowledge, Providence, creation and the structure of the universe. One idea in particular was borrowed by St. Thomas from Maimónides; the idea of God as the Supreme Artist.

After the middle of the thirteenth century, after Cordoba had been captured in 1236 and Seville in 1284, all that was left to the Spanish Moslems was the kingdom of Granada and the adjacent coast which included Gibraltar.

With the decline of the Moslem power, the stage was set for the Christian unification of Spain. Two important happenings set in motion the chain of historical events that led to the final outcome. It is not necessary here to go into the political intrigues and other details involved. Suffice it to say that Isabella became the Catholic Queen of León and Castilla. Before this, however, she had married (1474) Ferdinand who was king of Aragón and Cataluña. Hence, the four great Christian Kingdoms of Spain were united in a personal kind of way at least. This union of the two crowns is one of the most important events in Spanish history. It took another eighteen years to complete the unification of Spain with the conquest of Granada in 1492. By that time, Spanish national unity had practically been achieved, but the Moslems had left a deep impression. Spaniards thereafter were less European than Asiatic, full of mysticism, dignified, proud, sometimes arrogant, and often capable of rigid self-abnegation.

It was during the reign of Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabella of Castile (1479-1516) that the nearest approach to Spanish territorial unity was achieved, that Spanish institutions were crystallized into definite and durable form, and that the Spanish type of nationalism came into being. It was about this time also that Spanish character became so definitely fixed that subsequent centuries did not succeed in greatly modifying it.

While all this is going on and royal personages strut across the stage of history, let us not forget that far in the background the nameless multitude grunt and sweat at their daily routine — yokels feeding pigs, coaxing or be-laboring obstinate little innocent-eyed donkeys, shepherds tending sheep, sunburned husbandmen driving antique plows, or harvesting such crops as could survive the poor soil; and marauding soldiers, girls carrying water jugs on their heads or washing clothes in the brook or in the town washbasin (as is done today in Spanish America), young men chaffing them, mothers chasing dirty little brats, old grandmas gossiping, apprehensive of a moorish raid or the character of the young lord of the castle; guilds jealous of each other, parents match-making, priests mumbling prayers, monks asking alms, cavaliers splashing mud, students, apprentices, and such like; beggars everywhere especially on the steps of the wealthy cathedrals, people freezing in the cold winter and roasting in summer. There were the love affairs, babies were born, people grew up, had ambitions, wants and desires, made homes, grew old and died. There were births and funerals, yet everybody ate and slept, went to work and to church, and life went on. And so we can return to occupied Spain.

The Moorish occupation of Spain during five hundred years could do no less than leave inefaceable effects. The most deep-seated would be the intermixture of bloods followed by the character and personality that centuries of warfare would confer upon the people and the formation of their religious beliefs and attitudes including the rise of a religious caste. The more superficial result is the widespread adoption of Moorish manners and customs. Other results appear in the arts, particularly architecture as exemplified in the Mezquita at Córdoba, the Giralda and the Alcazar at Seville, the Alhambra at Granada. The influence exerted by these buildings, the taste they developed is to be seen today in New World cities and structures. Their physicians left an impression on the history of medicine; the contributions of their philosophers and thinkers have been referred to in passing. Both Arabs and Jews cultivated literature and just a few samples will show how they influenced the language. Spanish today uses such Arabic words as *alcalde* (judge), *alguacil* (policeman), *alcabala* (tax), *tarifa* (Tariff), *azote* (whip), *azúcar* (sugar), *alquimia* (alchemy), *álgebra*, and many others. Also, cotton, silk, oranges, figs, almonds, sugar cane, and other fruits and vegetables were brought to Spain by the Moors.

The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a period of economic and cultural revival in Europe. They witnessed the growth of industry, trade, towns, and cities and the awakening of the spirit of inquiry. In its later stages, the awakening became known as the Renaissance, or revival of learning, which was characterized by a growing interest both in the wisdom of the ancients and in the physical world. While aboriginal Americans were struggling upward through the successive stages of barbarism toward a civilized way of life, the Europeans were emerging from their long era of darkness and chaos. Each group was probably ignorant of the other's existence but the quickened curiosity of the Europeans, their religious zeal, their fondness for luxuries, were finally to bring them into contact with their remote kinsmen across the Atlantic. And Western Europe's Renaissance was in considerable measure the product of the activities of the

Asiatic relatives of the American Mongoloids.

Among the social traits of this era there was a certain moral laxity. Two forms of marriage were recognized, the religious or church wedding and that known as *a juras* (under oath) consisting of a simple contract between the parties. There was also a third form, similar to the latter but not recognized as lawful. It was called *barraganía* and was comparable to concubinage. The essential conditions were permanence and fidelity. Both parties were supposed to be single although the custom often extended to include married men. In the latter case, but not in the former the children were held to be illegitimate. Many clergymen entered into this relation in spite of efforts to prevent the practice. Barraganía and the marriage *a juras* are sometimes considered to be a Christian imitation of Moslem marital customs. Divorce was allowed for serious cause. The father was recognized as the master of the family. The bonds of family, however, were considered so strong that individuals who were free by law to emancipate themselves — for example, by marriage — often continued under the parental roof. Thus great family groups living in common were formed.

The tourney was imported from France as a means of entertainment. From France, too, came feudal chivalry imposing the ideals of valor, loyalty and dignity on those professing it. This exaggerated sense of honor led to dueling and it became a dramatic theme in the Golden Age of Spanish literature. Institutions of charity and hospitals were founded during this period, perhaps because of epidemics of leprosy and plagues.

Just as we could not leave the story of Spain without mentioning Columbus, so too we are duty bound to go back a ways in history and pick up a most important figure, that of King Alfonso X, *el Sabio*, the Wise (1221-1284). His place in history has to do, not with politics for in this respect he reigned badly, but with his tremendous contribution to civilization. This is best told by his own nephew, Don Juan Manuel:

Among the many good qualities that God gave to King Don Alfonso was the desire to foster learning. In fact, he did so much for learning that, from the time of King Ptolemy until now, no king nor any other man did as much. So great was his wish that his subjects should have more knowledge that he caused to be translated into Castilian all the learning that concerns theology, logic, the seven liberal arts, and all the mechanical arts. He had the sacred books of the Moors translated in order that the errors which Mohammed, their false prophet, put into them should be patent. Also, he caused to be translated all the Hebraic law, even the Talmud, and that very secret learning that the Jews have and call Cobala. . . . Also, he turned into Spanish all the canons and statutes and he had many good books written which treated fully of hunting, hawking, and fishing in great detail, both as to theory and practice.

Don Juan Manuel's opinion has stood for six hundred years and to it may be added the opinion of a more modern authority, the previously referred to scholar and historian, Sedgwick.

Alfonso el Sabio dominated the century both in literature and in general culture, not only before his accession to the throne but also after his death, so completely that its law, prose, poetry, and whatever influences came in from the East are all due to him. . . . He was our first and greatest legislator, the earliest of Spanish prose writers and one of the best, the founder of Castilian prose, the best historian, and the best lyrical poet of his time. Besides all this, he brought in the science and civilization of the Arabs and the Jews, whether of Spain or the East, and in short gave the push that started all Spanish culture. His accomplishments did not merely consist in what he himself wrote, or in what he caused others to write, but in the immense influence of his royal example, and most of all in his championship of the Castilian tongue, which he substituted where he could for the traditional official Latin.

The three outstanding works of Alfonso X are the *Crónica General, Las Siete Partidas* and *Las Cantigas de Santa María.* The first or *Crónica General* is a history of Spain which begins with the book of Genesis and comes down to the death of Alfonso's father, San Fernando.

Las Siete Partidas, so called because it is divided into seven parts, is a book of laws. It is of great historical importance because it influenced legislation for hundreds of years, not only in Spain but also in the Spanish colonies in America, including Louisiana and New Mexico.

Alfonso himself wrote neither the history nor the code. He employed a staff of scholars whom he supervised and instructed and he polished their works himself. Thus he gets the credit for conferring upon Castilian prose all those qualities of breeding, elegance and freedom from alien and vulgar words or turns of phrase that are implied in the familiar adjective *castizo,* of which Spanish critics are so fond.

The King's poems, *Las Cantigas de Santa María* were written, not in the Castilian dialect, but in Galician which at the time was the popular language in which to write poetry. These hymns to the Virgin, according to Fitzmaurice- Kelly, are "of incomparable beauty, pregnant with mystery and terror."

Toward the end of the thirteenth century the nobles had acquired considerable power in spite of the efforts of the kings to keep them under control. Besides the political victories which they had gained, two circumstances practically secured their position. One was the law of primogeniture which granted the wealth of the family and the lustre of its name to the oldest son. This forced the *segundones* (second sons) and others to seek careers as members of the clergy or as soldiers. Henry II himself was partly responsible for this new practice. The second was the granting of lands to the nobles which produced an income, or the granting of honors or fiscal rights which the king possessed and which, again, produced an income of rent or taxes. Both were generally called grants in *encomienda*.

At this time also, the situation of the Jews was extremely precarious and even dangerous because the Christian clergy were vindictive and popular sentiment was bitterly hostile to them, partly because of the influence of the church and partly because of the hatred of the Jewish tax collectors and partly, too, because of the avarice awakened by the often exaggerated wealth of the Jews. Popular feeling began to make itself felt more rigorously about 1391 during which year a great massarce of Jews took place in Seville and other cities in Spain. From this time on conditions and the treatment of the Jews grew progressively worse and massacres came more frequently.

At this time there also were changes in family life and the marriage *a juras* was suppressed. *Barraganía* still maintained a legal even if restricted standing. Then, too, agricultural property began to lose some of its importance as the basis of wealth. Now urban lands and personal property, based on industry and commerce became more important. The middle class now grew in importance and was able to vie with the nobles. Jousts and tourneys were still popular and bull fights perhaps a little more so than before.

In legal matters punishments for crime were atrocious and torture was still employed. The upper classes could still exercise their privileges. A reform introduced at this time was the establishment of the *Pesquisa*. Formerly, the state had intervened when one individual charged another with crime, a process which resulted to the detriment of the weak who would not dare to accuse the more powerful. The *pesquisa* not only introduced the grand jury function of an accusation by the state, without necessarily involving any individual accusers, but it also made crime more of the nature of a public offense than of a mere infringement of individual rights. Written documents and the testimony of witnesses became more important. They brought about the rise of the lawyers who once more became important in judicial affairs. The duel was the only one of the previous vulgar props to remain in practice. It was controlled by strict rules and became a popular stage prop in many a Golden Age play.

Beginning a New Era

This is also the era of the desire for knowledge which accompanied a feeling of superiority in Castile in intellectual matters. Universities increased in number and influence and became a vital factor in intellectual life. There were general studies founded by the pope, the emperor or the king which combined secondary and higher education. Then the higher studies began to predominate and became associated with the universities. Theology was added to the university curriculum in the fifteenth century followed by other studies such as medicine and surgery. Church schools provided almost the only primary education available. The universities received government aid but were autonomous. The students and teachers together formed a *cofradía* or fraternity which elected its own rector. A bishop, dean or abbot was usually a kind of guardian by royal mandate who came to rival the rector in authority even to the granting of degrees. The method of teaching employed was the reading of a text by the teacher who commented upon and explained it. Examinations were held for the granting of bachelor's and doctor's degrees. Texts were loaned, not sold, in the universities to students to enable them to correct their notes. The printing press was introduced some time before 1475.

Moslems and Jews were the most famous physicians and they employed the deductive method and dialectic forms rather than observation and experiment. The natural sciences were employed to learn about the future or to obtain wealth through super-natural agencies. Castilian was now becoming the official language.

During the last quarter of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries the remainder of the Jews and Mohammedans were expelled from Spain. A decree of 1492 required either conversion or expulsion of the hated Jews giving them only four months to comply.

We have now come up to the time when, in theory at least, Spain is united under the Catholic King and Queen Ferdinand and Isabella. A civilization and a culture have been established, a way of life and its manners has grown up. The time is ripe for that world-shaking event, the discovery of a new world on this old planet. But before Columbus sails into the setting sun, or at least during the same year of 1492, some other often over-looked events took place.

The year seems to have been fateful in several respects. Not only was Spain more united than ever before, the Moorish hold on Granada finally cut loose, the Jews expelled, and the new world discovered, but an important literary event took place in the field of drama and another in language. Up to this time, embryonic drama, the representation and interpretation of sacred mysteries, had been confined to the temples. Now, in 1492, it was taken out of the churches and cathedrals and presented as a dramatic interpretation of life in the palaces of the nobles and thus began in 1492 the secular or popular stage as we know it today.

In the area of language the name of Antonio de Nebrija must be mentioned. The foundations of modern social and political Spain were being laid. The study of the humanities was begun and the principal works of the Latin classics were translated into Spanish, the languages and literatures of ancient peoples were studied, and there was a great desire on the part of Spanish nobility to learn. In this incipient renaissance of classical culture one figure is outstanding. He has been called the prince of Spanish Latinists and grammarians. Trend suggests that Queen Isabella must have opened wide her innocent blue eyes when Antonio de Nebrija presented to her his Spanish grammer for she bluntly asked him, "What is it for?" and his portentous answer was, "Language is the perfect instrument of empire." This *Gramática sobre la lengua castellana* (1492) was just one among many of Nebrija's works, but it is also the first scientific grammar of a modern language.

This was the era when education was promoted, great architectural monuments were begun with Renaissance architecture beginning to appear, wise men and artists from all over the known world began to converge on Spain and Spanish artists went to Italy to continue their studies, as Spanish Americans do today. This was the country which was to startle the world in the following century with its superhuman feats of exploration and conquest in the New World. This is where Miguel Servet (1509-1553) was born, the man who discovered the circulation of blood, the M.D. and theologian who was burned at the stake in Geneva by Calvin for his discovery twenty-five years before William Harvey was born, the man who got the credit. This is the country that produced the man who wrote the first modern grammar and the first modern dictionary; that produced the world's outstanding novel, *Don Quijote;* that brought the drama out of the temple and into the theater; the country that established the first universities, churches and developed the first specialization in the New World. These are the people who first looked through the door opened by Columbus on October 12, 1492 into a New World.

A few years later, around 1500, economic conditions in Spain were fairly good. Agriculture and stockraising were moderately prosperous and manufacturing industries were spreading to nearly all of the towns, turning out swords, woolens, silks, leather goods, ships and many other products. The navy and merchant marine were developing, and foreign commerce, encouraged by the crown, was increasing.

The population, approximately 7,000,000 at this time, was divided into the familiar three classes, upper, middle and lower, although the middle class, composed of emancipated peasantry and of such members of the lesser nobility as were attracted into business and industry, was rather small. The nobility, higher and lower, and the clergy constituted the upper class. The clergy were wealthy.

At the head of the nobility were the grandees, who either held public office or lived upon the income from vast estates which they and their ancestors had seized from the retreating Moslems. The lesser nobility — *hidalgos* and *caballeros* — were neither so wealthy nor so fortunate; but higher and lower alike enjoyed many exemptions and privileges, disdained manual labor, and drew their sustenance mostly from the toil of peasants and others in a semiservile condition. The lower class was composed of agricultural workers and tenants who were gradually being transformed into a free peasantry, personal servants, industrial laborers in the towns, and a rather large number of beggars. Although serfdom was on its way to extinction, the semifeudal institution called *encomienda* still persisted in some quarters, where free peasants and small landowners "commended" themselves to powerful nobles in the community and rendered them certain services in return for protection.

Spaniards were thought to be shrewd and intelligent, but they were not good in liberal and mechanical arts; all the artesans of the king's court were French or foreigners from somewhere else. All Spaniards looked down on trade and put on airs as hidalgos and preferred to be soldiers or (before Ferdinard's time) highwaymen rather than engage in trade, or any other such "low occupation." It is true that in some parts of Spain they wove and made rich stuffs, as in Valencia, Toledo, and Seville; but the nation as a whole was opposed to industrial life. The country people cultivated the soil much less than they might. Spaniards were fond of show; wore fine clothes in public; rode a stylish horse, but at home they lived in a beggarly fashion hard to believe as depicted in the classic *Lazarillo de Tormes*. In outward appearance they were very religious, but not in reality. They were somewhat ceremonious, most courteous and very considerate of others, traits which have not been lost today.

The deep-rooted disdain for manual labor could do no less than result in stagnation when there were no more new worlds to conquer. Then an idle nobility would become a pest, fomenting political disorders, living upon administrative graft, and infesting the streets and highways as robbers and beggars. Huge landed estates held together by mortmain and primogeniture, would retard the growth of the middle class and hamper economic development. The increasing wealth of the church would attract a too numerous clergy, who would succumb to luxury, idleness and corruption as portrayed in the *Libro de Buen Amor* (1330) by the Arcipreste de Hita, and become a heavy social liability. These conditions, patterns of value, and concepts of government and the social order cannot help but be reflected in Hispanic America; they know nothing else.

The Spanish sovereigns were ardent Roman Catholics, eager to spread their faith. If they exploited rather than developed their overseas possessions, this was because their zeal in defending and expanding Roman Catholicism in Europe made them feel that they were entitled to draw some of the sinews of royal power from America.

Even during the sixteenth century, the Spaniards did not by any means restrict their efforts in America to exploration, conquest, and seizure of the persons and possessions of its aboriginal inhabitants. They evangelized the natives, taught them new skills and new methods of production, and brought in Negro slaves from Africa to ease their burdens. They searched diligently for precious metals and jewels, but they also urged that the cultivation of native crops be continued, introduced their own familiar food plants and domestic animals, and applied themselves to the management of farms, plantations, and ranches. They founded townes, built homes, and established shops and centers of trade. In short, during the sixteenth century and the two that followed they transplanted their institutions and culture so successfully that today more than two-thirds of the Americas is Hispanic.

Intelligent consideration of Spanish colonial institutions must begin with emphasis upon the relationship of the New World to the Spanish crown. That this New World belonged to the Spanish sovereigns and not to the Spanish nation was fundamental. They successfully asserted not only their sovereign rights in America but their property rights as well. Every privilege, office, and position, whether political, administrative, judicial, economic, or religious, must come from them. It was from this basis that the conquest, exploration, occupation, and government of the New World proceeded. The entire enterprise was undertaken by and for the royal authorities, under the direction of individuals appointed by them and directly responsible to them. This deeply ingrained attitude has determined politics, government and property rights throughout Spanish America, as we shall see, and was a strong influence in the development of Spanish American character.

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Chapter II

Administration and Jurisprudence

Rise of the Villas

The legal or judicial and political system with which a people must live is at once a reflection and a molder of personality. For this reason it will be germane to examine Spain's pre-Columbian legislation.

Probably one of the greatest single events in the history of the Iberian peninsula was the Roman occupation and domination for over six centuries. Chapman in *A History of Spain* has said that all that Spain is or has done in the world can be traced eventually to Roman civilization. Rome originated and gave to the world and to Spain both law and administration. Through these factors she was able to give the conquered peoples peace and therefore advances in wealth and culture were possible. In fact, Rome introduced many social principles which gradually brought about more freedom for man, and became the basis of modern social liberty.

One of these principles was the individualistic tendancy of Roman law. This operated to destroy individual subordination to the state or to the will of the communal group. In fact, it substituted the individual for the family and each man gained thereby the liberty to follow his own will instead of being subject for ever to the family. The concept was also applied in matters relating to property. Freedom of testament was introduced and property was thus released from its previous bonds.

The later Visigothic conquest, however, had a tendency to counteract some of this, especially in matters concerning the family. This they considered the unit of society although individuals still had considerable liberty. Members of a family had obligations to aid one another and what affected one affected the entire large family. A woman could not marry without the consent of her family which sold her to the candidate of their choice. She was required to be faithful to her husband and subject to his will, but he was allowed to have concubines. She had a right to share in any property acquired after marriage and to have the use of her deceased husband's estate as long as she did not remarry. A man might make a will, but four-fifths of his property must be left to his descendants. Children were subject to their parents who did not have the power of life and death over them as in earlier times. Children could acquire property of their own.

At this early date, the nobility was a closed order but was eventually opened to anyone who was important enough to enter it. The king could then make any one a noble and this was a source of friction between him and the older nobility. Freemen became more dependent than ever and in the country became serfs bound by inheritance both to the land and to a certain type of labor. In the cities, however, freemen were no longer required to follow the trade of their fathers. Men of a higher grade often became retainers of a noble whom they pledged to aid; he in turn protected them.

The Visigoths and the Hispano Romans were long governed by different laws in their personal relations, yet the same law applied to both in political matters. These differences disappeared in the eyes of the law later on, but many of them remained in effect because of custom and the weakness of central authority. In general administration the Visigoths adopted Roman procedure from the first. The land was divided into provinces ruled by dukes and cities were governed by counts which at that time was not a title of nobility. Each had the same authority under the king as the king had over the kingdom. The Roman provincial and municipal councils continued and were bettered for they were not responsible for real security or justice, for the will of the more powerful was the law in most cases. Taxes were not as high as they had been, and only Hispano Romans had to pay them.

After the beginning of the Moslem domination (711) social inequality increased due to a decline in wealth and an increase in the hazards of life. The privilege and authority of the higher nobility became almost boundless yet was not as intensified as in the rest of Europe. They conquered lands and ruled their own estates with almost absolute authority. They might leave the king's service for that of any other monarch and were not taxed. Their prestige was weakened only by the king's right to grant titles. He might also deprive heirs of their lands and demote a noble created by himself. Most of the nobles of lesser rank, as a matter of fact, were retainers of the greater nobles of the king. They usually rendered military service in return for protection. This state of protection was called *encomienda,* a term used centuries later to include the enslavement of the Indians on the land grants in the New World. Small landed proprietors and free agricultural and industrial laborers placed themselves in similar relations to the great nobles so that the latter were about the only class of the time who were free.

The king's power, to all intents and purposes, was absolute inasmuch as all supreme legislative, judicial and administrative authority over the realm rested in him. But there were limitations upon his authority in matters relating to the nobles and the church. In their own spheres, the nobles were as powerful as the king. They raised troops, fought with one another or against the king, had judicial authority and collected taxes. The protection they were supposed to give on their estates was not always forthcoming and they oppressed their own dependents and those of other lords. They also were virtual highwaymen, robbing travelers, businessmen, and pilgrims, and contributing more than any other class to the lawlessness of the times. This lawlessness in all probability was a powerful factor contributing to the later spirit of anarchy.

Bishops and abbots acted much like the nobles. The church acquired estates through gifts of individuals and grants of the king, and they enjoyed the same rights and privileges as the nobles. Thus, great churchmen raised troops which they themselves commanded at times. The royal power was still further limited because it had to depend upon nobles or churchmen to govern distant lands or to hold administrative or judicial offices.

During this period a new limitation upon seignorial authority came into being with the rise of the plebeian town. The most important type of this class was the *villa* or *concejo* which originated in the tenth century. It was founded on lands conquered by the kings, usually in frontier districts exposed to the enemy. Special privileges known as *fueros*, were granted to induce people to settle there and any one who could find his way to a *villa* automatically became free regardless of his previous status. Though all citizens were free, they were not all equal. The *villas* were exempted from many duties to the state including the payment of taxes. They were not under the jurisdiction of the courts and were granted much political authority. Each *villa* received its own *fuero* or charter by special grant so that, in general, no two were alike. As a rule the government of a *villa* was in the hands of an assembly of citizens which enacted local laws and elected judges and administrative offices. These rights and exemptions made virtual political entities of the *villas* which were independent of all but the king and to a large extent were not even subject to him. The *villa* extended beyond its own walls to include neighboring rural districts. The royal development of the *villas* forced the nobility and the clergy to establish similar settlements in order to attract people to their territories.

Privilege and its enjoyment was the general rule, and law in northwestern Spain was far from uniform. The Visigothic *Fuero Juzgo* was still the basic law but it was often weakened or nullified through grants by the king to nobles, clergy and *villas*, and by the nobles and clergy to yet other administrative units under their control. Local customs also carried much weight and were frequently cited in the absence of specific law.

When the Moslem domination began to have full sway in Spain, from about the middle of the eleventh century on, there were political and administrative changes. But the *villa* concept became so firmly entrenched that it strongly influenced later politics and personality.

Basically, there was little change in the political organization between León and Castile. But the *villas* and the *Cortes* began to be a real political force. The throne was tending to become hereditary and the right of women to reign was recognized. In administration many political subdivisions were enlarged to include several counties and the whole was ruled by a governor appointed by the king, assisted by functionaries called *merinos mayores*. They, too, were appointed by the king, and given judicial functions and authority over the greater provinces, such as Castile, León or Galicia. The *merinos mayores* had charge of civil and criminal jurisdiction. A reform was instigated and the nobles were removed from the post of the king's representative in the counties. Officials called *adelantados* were substituted and their authority was more civil than military, hence less dangerous.

For centuries the kings had held councils of nobles or ecclesiastics, or both, although there was a tendency not to invite the churchmen. In 1137 a council of nobles at Nájera was called the *Cortes*. By 1188 popular representatives were being admitted — probably the first time for this to happen in the history of Europe and it took place in León. The first instance in Castile was in 1250. Attendance was by invitation of the king but the custom gradually became established that certain towns should have the privilege of being represented. The towns chose their representatives, but their method of choosing these varied.

The *Cortes* was allowed to petition the king, each branch for itself, and to determine the funds it would grant him. It had no true legislative functions but the king wanted its advice and its approval for his laws and it wielded enough influence to be able to obtain legislation. The king presided in person at the opening and closing sessions and through appointed representatives at other meetings. The king continued to be the principal legislative authority, and the law retained its former diversity and its fundamental bases of privilege. The *Fuero Juzgo*, which was the common law, applied in all but few respects.

Municipal organization continued through this period much as it had existed previously with the local assembly and the customary officials among whom the most important were the judges who came to be called *alcaldes* from the Arabic meaning "the judges." The king still had his representatives known as *merinos* and communication with the king was by messenger, sometimes appointed by him and sometimes by the cities. The towns were virtually independent and, like the nobles, they fought the Moslems, one another, or the lawless nobles. For the purpose of these wars they often formed leagues or brotherhoods called *hermandades* for which special ordinances were drawn up without consulting the king. They often changed their own charter without royal consent. Their privileges and taxation have been mentioned previously. The towns levied their own taxes and imposed obligations of personal service on their citizens, and owned lands which may have been the most important source of their wealth. These lands were of two kinds, one called the *propios* which belonged to the municipality and which were either worked or rented by the towns; and the *comunales* or land owned in common use of all subject to local regulations. Most of the towns had already acquired economic independence and now wished to obtain political freedom as well. They fought the lord's practice of choosing their magistrates; then they attempted to win the right of their assemblies to exclusive choice; next they tried to increase the powers of the locally chosen officials as compared with those chosen by the lord; and at all times were trying to gain more authority for their assemblies, or for the council which came to represent them, for example, the right to fix wages. By the opening of the thirteenth century, local autonomy had been won at Santiago de Compostela, and many other seignorial towns, both noble and ecclesiastical, had achieved equal or nearly equal status.

Basically, justice was in the hands of the king, but the alcaldes of the towns usually exercised civil jurisdiction, and often criminal as well. In some towns royal *merinos* and *adelantados* had charge of criminal jurisdiction. The king might punish local judges but this did not enable him to check abuses. Appeals went to the king who also had the right to try in first instances the serious crimes of murder, assault on a woman, robbery and others. In such cases the king was assisted in the administration of justice by a group of men of his own appointment called the *cort* (not to be confused with the *Cortes*), but this was only an advisory body and the responsibility for the final decision was left to the king. As might be expected, in such primitive times of disorder, punishments were often horrifying. They included mutilation, stoning to death, throwing over a cliff, burning, burial alive, stravation, cooking, stripping off the skin, drowning and hanging and some other exquisite tortures. Only hanging has survived. On the other hand, recompense for murder was allowable by the payment of a lump sum of money. Men were valuable to the state — but the murderer was not free from private vengeance by the dead man's family. The so-called "vulgar proofs," such as trial by hot iron or hot water and wager of battle, besides torture, were employed as a means of acquiring evidence, but these methods were already losing favor. Real justice was rare and the wealthy, especially if they were nobles, often took matters into their own hands.

Although there was no permanent army, military service was obligatory for all. Organization was simple, the seignorial troops being commanded by the lord or his representative and the militia of the town by an *alférez* or standard bearer, as he was then called. The most important element in the wars against the Moslems was that of the military orders. They had a mixed religious and secular character for which some members took the customary monastic vows, others did not. Among the general European orders like the Templars there were three which were confined to the peninsula, namely, Calatrava, Santiago and Alcantara, all formed in the middle of the twelfth century. Their membership became so numerous and their wealth so great that they grew to be another important force to threaten the royal authority. War was absolutely merciless falling quite as heavily on the non-combatant as upon the opponent with arms in hand. The enemy population might lose their lands and be enslaved, unless it was deemed inadvisable, and pillage was legally recognized with a share of the booty going to the king. The sword, lance and pike were the principal weapons. Flags were used to incite the troops to deeds of valor and priests were employed for the same purpose. The first navy in this part of Spain was the private fleet of Bishop Gelmérez of Santiago de Compostela. Private navies were the rule. The first royal navy was formed by Ferdinand III as a result of the important part played by the private navies in the taking of Seville.

During this period (eleventh to thirteenth centuries) there were some political differences in Aragón. The nobles had privileges of a political, as well as of a social, character as they were virtually sovereign on their own estates. A new official developed in the person of the *justicia* who was a Justice or Justiciar and whose duties were to hear cases of violation of privilege and general complaints against the authorities. The nobles tried to secure the appointment of this official to themselves but only succeeded in forcing Jaime I to recognize that the functions of the *justicia* were to be exercised in his own right and and not by delegation of the King. The free towns often agreed with the crown, as in Castile, but they were not nearly so numerous nor nearly as strong an agency in favor of the liberation of the servile classes.

There were three estates in the Aragonese *Cortes*, the higher nobility or *caballeros*, the clergy, and the representatives of the towns. The principal form of legislation was that of the royal charters. The diversity of law noted previously in Castile was also characteristic in Aragón, but Jaime I attempted uniformity by codification. This code came to be known as *la Complilación de Canellas* inasmuch as Canellas compiled it. It embodied the traditional law of Aragón supplemented by principles of equity, did not eliminate the charters and applied only to matters not covered by them. The Roman law of Justinian and the common law, both of which greatly favored the king, were beginning to be studied, but the nobility opposed the assertion of these legal principles in courts of law.

Taxation was more oppressive of the common people than in Castile and a greater proportion went to the lords than to the king. Occasionally, Jaime I was obliged to give his personal note for royal dinners and he often paid his taylor by exemption from taxation. The king was not always able to persuade his nobles to assist him in war. In other ways, however, military customs resembled those of Castile.

In the period from the last half of the thirteenth century to the last half of the fifteenth (1252-1479) there were two noteworthy changes or developments. Political victories had raised the social and political prestige of the nobles to an all time high. At this moment the adoption of the law of primogeniture caused the wealth of the family and the lustre of its name to be inherited by the eldest son so as to maintain the powerful position of the particular noble house. The second sons (*segundones*) were thus in effect disinherited and were forced to find their careers in the church or the military. The king himself (Henry II) was largely responsible for this new practice of the nobility, and he and later kings usually required that the lands granted by them to the nobles should be inalienable and subject to the law of primogeniture. The royal donations, which were especially great from the time of HenryII on, were usually of two kinds: *honores* or grants of the fiscal rights which the king had in a specifically named place; and *tierras* lands or grants of a fixed income from a certain town or towns. Both forms were generally called grant in *encomienda.* The nobles increased their holdings still more by usurpation and private conquests. For example, early in the reign of Henry IV the Duke of Medina Sidonia and other nobles took territories of vast size from the Moslems. These were called *latifundias* (large estates) and have influenced even to this day the economic life of Andalusia. This custom, brought later to the New World by the conquistadores, has also caused many legal problems concerning land titles in New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas, perhaps even in California and Colorado.

The military orders continued and the *caballeros* were an important element. The grand master was usually chosen from among the nobles of high rank and this lent considerable strength to his position. The vast power of these orders was eventually the cause of their downfall which was precipitated by the joint action of the French monarchy and the popes. The strongest of all, the Templars, was abolished by the pope in 1312 and this was reflected in a decline of other orders. Moreover, the reason for their existence was eliminated when the Turks came into Europe and the Spanish crusades stopped. With the exception of the state of the military orders, the nobles had reached the height of their social ambitions, continuing the custom of conducting themselves in a lawless manner with little in the way of loyalty, high ideals, or moral sense, but their authority appeared to be greater than it actually was. An example may be of interest at this point.

Pero López de Ayala (1332-1407), of Spanish literary fame, is typical of the nobility of the times. He illustrates the tendency of the times to win triumphs in court intrigues rather than in warlike pursuits. In spite of the facility with which he changed from one political side to another, he was able to make a profit for himself, even out of reverses, without scandal and under a pretense of serving the public good. He was always on the border of immorality without actually crossing it. Thus he was able to rise from untitled poverty to nobility and extraordinary wealth, and to the position of chancellor of Castile. He was also the most noted historian of his time.

In the meantime the Mudéjares or Moslems enjoyed lenient treatment at the hands of the Christians and their members increased greatly. The legislation of Alfonso X put them under the royal protection and allowed them to have their own courts and law. They were allowed to keep their mosques but were forbidden to build new ones. They could not worship in public places settled chiefly by Christians, otherwise no objection was made to their religious practices. The previous requirements regarding taxation, dress, and dealings with Christians were continued. In later reigns the restrictions were increased but many were not enforced. In fact, the Mudéjares enjoyed greater prosperity in the last reign of the era than at any other time of the period. They were a wealthy and important social element, at times represented at court, and enjoying a number of advantages which had long been denied to them.

For a while the legal situation of the Jews was comparable to that of the Mudéjares but the Christian clergy became particularly vindictive against them. Popular sentiment, too, was bitterly hostile to them because of the influence of the church and because of the hatred of the Jewish tax collectors. Also there was the avarice awakened by the often exaggerated wealth of the Jews. These feelings were shown more and more by the restrictive laws and the open insults and violence directed at them by the Christians. The feelings of enmity finally burst into flame resulting in the great massacre of the Jews in 1391 in Seville. This barbarous act was soon imitated in other parts of Spain.

Not long afterwards the Jews were deprived of their separate law courts and were forbidden, among other things, to engage in commerce or any kind of intimate relations with Christians, to rent the tax collector's office or hold public positions, to be artisans or to carry arms. They were even compelled to listen to sermons aimed at their conversion. These laws were not always enforced, but the plight of the Jews was anything but what might be expected from Christians. Many were converted but they probably continued to practice their faith in secret in many cases. The Christians insulted the converts (the new Christians) and called them *Marranos* (pigs) as a class. They were also envied because of their wealth and industry but were accused of diabolical practices of which they were not actually guilty.

Growing Importance of Law

This was a time also of changes in types of family life. The Roman Civil law was of such importance that it profoundly influenced the doctrines of the Church. The two together combined to strike a death blow to the marriage *a yuras* and henceforth the law required the sanction of the Church. *Barraganía* still maintained a legal though restricted standing. Marriage and divorce were separated from civil jurisdiction and turned over to the ecclesiastical courts. An illustration of the individualistic tendency growing out of Roman jurisprudence is the custom requiring a daughter to have her father's consent to contract marriage up to age twenty-five, but not afterwards. The most important reform in family life was the previously mentioned establishment of the custom of primogeniture. Roman law was equally influential with respect to property.

Formerly, the wealth of Castile had been based on agriculture and stock-raising with the land concentrated in few hands and cultivated by serfs. Now, urban lands and personal property, based on industry and commerce and adapted to Roman principles, became more important. In spite of the *latifundia* custom, a large part of the former seignorial lands was now given over in small lots to free proprietors protected by the law. The recording system also appeared in the law of property, contracts and wills, especially in the legislation of Alfonso X.

The collectivity of medieval times continued in the form of the communal or common lands held by the towns and was also characteristic of the industrial guilds and semi-religious *cofradías* or fraternities. The membership of the latter consisted of those having a common interest in the accomplishment of some social aim, such as charity, funerary dinners and mutual aid. The law forbade associations for political, immoral or illegal purposes. The guilds were favored by law.

In the beginning the guilds were highly dependent upon the municipalities which intervened to regulate the trades, even in technical respects. Later they began to receive charters directly from the king. In keeping with the practices of the era, these new charters were detailed in their instructions. In the fifteenth century the guilds were paying little attention to social matters which formerly were so important. These were taken over by the *cofradías* leaving the guild almost entirely economic and professional. However, their members march together in processions and officially the organization rendered public service of one kind or another such as maintaining a public charity. They were also a factor in politics.

In this era the nobles began to develop a class consciousness and become more and more a court nobility, plotting in the shadow of the king (like Chancellor López de Ayala mentioned above) instead of being more or less independent rulers of their own estates. But the class began to divide against itself into factions of conservatives and radicals, apart from their own ambitious designs. Moreover, social and economic changes were taking place which deprived the nobles of their lands and serfs and created a new form of wealth controlled by the middle class which was better equipped to acquire and develop new resources. That the force of these changes was recognized by the nobility is demonstrated by the alacrity with which they took up the practice of primogeniture leaving their estates nearly intact to the oldest sons so that their house and their name might be perpetuated.

Alfonso X (*El Sabio*) was the great representative of absolutism because he formulated the program most clearly, embodied it in his famous legislation and because he was the first to take the shock of its defense. He decreed that the legislative, judicial and military powers and the right to coin money were fundamental, inalienable rights of the king who could not give them away for a period longer than his own life, and declared that the lords could not exercise any judicial or other sovereign powers on their estates except those which had been granted to them by the king or which they had enjoyed by immemorial custom. His laws also prescribed certain forms of etiquette which should prevail in the presence of the king thus establishing courtly pomp and ceremony which has since been characteristic of the court. The divine origin of royal power was asserted and independence of the Holy Roman Emperors was proclaimed, yet a measure of subjection to the Pope was admitted.

Alfonso X was not able to maintain his principles in force when it came to open conflict, but they remained as the ideal of future kings even though some of them were modified by the legislation of later reigns. Later, Alfonso XI declared that sovereign rights might be delegated or granted by the crown (except the powers to tax and to administer high justice, i.e., the hearing of cases on appeal) and that kings could alienate any of their sovereign powers except those of high justice, coinage and war.

Out of the foregoing came two fundamental results of the absolutist, centralizing power of the kings; namely, the final establishment of hereditary succession and the development of consultative and other bodies around the king, the forerunner of modern bureaucracy. The pomp and ceremonial of royalty increased the number of officials whose principal functions were those of adding splendor to the court, such as the king's cup-bearer, butler and chamberlain. Great nobles also sent their sons to court to be educated under the protection and with the favor of the king. These young men formed a special royal guard. Furthermore, there grew up large numbers of servants, notaries, doctors and others occupying positions of a less ornamental character. An important development of the period was the *Consejo Real.*

The kings had long been surrounded by a body of nobles and prelates referred to as the *Consejo Real* who advised in matters of government or sat on the *Cort*, or supreme court, in appeals from lower jurisdiction. Its membership and functions had never been clearly established and it dealt with any subject on which the king might want advice. An important reform was the inclusion of representatives of the people in this body. A law of Juan I in 1385 decreed that the council should be composed of 12 men of whom four should be plebeians. Two years later it was established that these four should be *letrados*, i.e., men learned in the law. Shortly afterwards they began to be called *oidores* (hearers of cases). Juan II then divided the council into two bodies, one for matters of government and the other for matters of justice. The *Consejo Real*, however, did not acquire real stability until the time of Ferdinand and Isabella.

There were other important developments in the general administrative and judicial heirarchy with a mixing of the two functions. The heirarchy of officialdom, from the lowest grade to the highest from the point of view of authority, ran from *alcaldes* of the towns through *merinos mayores* or the *adelantados*, the *alcalde del rey* (royal alcalde) of the court, and the *Adelantado Mayor* (or chief justice of Castile) to the king himself. In some jurisdictions cases in first instances came before *alcaldes del rey* (different from those named above) with an appeal to *merinos menores and merinos mayores*, or directly to the latter and then upward. The *merinos mayores* were, like the *adelantados*, governors of large districts as well as judges in cases of appeal, for which purpose they were assisted by men versed in the law. They took the place of many of the former *adelantados*. The *adelantado mayor* also had administrative functions, as the superior of the *merinos* and the officials below him. Alfonso X used the old term *Cort* in the new and more restricted sense of a royal judicial tribunal which acted for the king. In later reigns this came to be known as the *chancillería* (chancery), or *audiencia*, which name was eventually transplanted to the New World for bodies exercising similar functions. Literally, the *audiencia* or hearing took place when the king gave audience for the decision of cases. Later, he was relieved of this duty by other officials or bodies and the name was applied finally to the courts referred to.

The foregoing description gives an appearance of order and uniformity in administration and judicial organization which is not quite true. There was a great variety of jurisdiction as well as a great diversity in law, especially between regions. Towns, nobles, clergy, universities and great corporations of stock raisers, e.g., the *Mesta*, all had officials of their own and were exempted from royal jurisdiction. At the same time, as mentioned previously, great *hermandades*, or leagues of cities, were formed for protection and public safety against disturbing elements, such as highwaymen, for the royal services of this type were not efficient and were also divided into separate jurisdictions.

The most famous of these leagues was the *Santa Real Hermandad* (Holy Royal Brotherhood) of Toledo, Talavera and Villareal which lasted down to the nineteenth century although its jurisdiction and activities were modified from time to time. The pursuit of an offender by a member of the league could not go beyond the borders of Portugal or Aragón. When an offender was captured a banquet was held after which the criminal was tied to a post to serve as a target. The one who first shot him through the heart was given a prize. After death a trial was held and sentence handed down.

The contemporary trend toward centralization, already strong, was promoted still more by education in the Roman law of the *letrados,* employed by the king as his officials who were strongly monarchical in sentiment, and by the increase in powers attained by the *adelantados* and the *merinos mayores* at the expense of quasi independent elements. This policy of centralization was promoted by the successors of Alfonso X. Royal judges began to appear in the towns, taking the place of or cooperating with elective officials for the kings took advantage of every opportunity to make an opening for their own appointees. Another important reform was the division of the *audiencia* into two sections. One remained in Segovia while the other traveled during brief periods in Andalusia. During the reign of Juan II the official known as the *fiscal* appeared in the *audiencia.* The *fiscal* was at first a royal prosecuting attorney, but later became one of the most important general administrative officials in Spanish and Spanish colonial government. Another indication of the extension of royal jurisdiction is the so-called recourse of *fuerza* in cases of usurpation (by force) of lands or jurisdiction by the clergy. The trial of these cases was ordered to be held in royal courts.

The punishments meted out for crime were still to be classified as atrocious, and torture was still employed for persons of bad reputation or when the accused was caught with evidence of his crime. Punishment of upper class individuals could still be modified by recourse to privileges. A notable change at this time was the appearance of the *pesquisa,* an inquisitional investigation for the purpose of bringing an indictment or accusation of crime. Up to this time the state had intervened when an individual was charged with crime, a process which worked against the weak who would not dare to accuse the more powerful. The *pesquisa* not only introduced the grand jury function of an accusation by the state, without necessarily involving individual accusers, but it also made crime partake of the nature of a public offense more than of a mere infringement of individual rights. The vulgar proofs, with one exception, were abolished. The importance of written documents and the testimony of witnesses became more important. This in turn increased the importance of lawyers who, for centuries, had been of little importance in judicial matters. The *reipto* (modern *reto*) or duel, a special form of the wager of battle, was the only one of the vulgar proofs to be continued. It was a special privilege to be enjoyed only by those of noble blood. The duel was hedged in by a number of rules, one of which was that it must take place in the presence of the king. Should the challenger be killed, the innocence of his opponent was thought to be established. If the opponent was killed still protesting his innocence, he was in this case, too, declared guiltless. The challenger could win by defeating his opponent without killing him, in which case the latter was banished, and half of his goods became the property of the king.

The system of taxation also underwent some changes. Many new taxes were introduced such as the royal monopolies on salt and mines, the *alcabala* or sales tax which first became general in the reign of Alfonso XI, stamp taxes, and the *consumo* or tax on all merchandise entering the city. These taxes were levied on goods or on acts of individuals in connection with the state (as distinguished from the king) differing radically from the services of a feudal character, with a multitude of exceptions and privileges, which had formerly been the basis of the public income. The era was one of chaos and the public wealth was too freely shared with the nobles so that governmental receipts did not meet the royal needs. The king was often forced to have recourse to loans and to the debasement of the coinage, even arbitrary confiscation of property. Even under the new system the collection of taxes was not efficient where the nobles and the clergy were concerned and they were granted many privileges and exemptions as before.

The fact remains, however, that the methods used at the time had in them the basis of a sound financial system which would be developed later. As before, the right to collect taxes was rented, mostly to Mudéjares, Jews or *Marranos*. The system inherently was subject to complaints and changing collectors did not remedy the situation. Royal officials received funds and examined accounts but there was no organized office of the treasurer.

The royal army began to grow with an increase in the number of troops maintained by the king. There were some technical advances in the art of war as, for example, a division into branches of the service, and the introduction of the use of gun powder, even so the use of firearms was not yet general. The use of complete armor was begun by the so-called white companies who constituted an army of military adventurers of an international composition who sold their services to the highest bidder. The royal navy that had been created by Ferdinand III was quite useful in this period for there were many brilliant victories against the Moslems in the Mediterranean and the English in the north.

The Castilian towns, too, were prospering politically. Their number and importance increased, they received additional privileges and had strong representatives in the *Cortes*. Some of the towns along the north coast intervened in foreign affairs through the agency of their league. The interior towns began to lose importance and authority during the fourteenth century. Royal judges had been assigned and the kings were able to influence administration too. Life terms in office were shortened to a period of years, and the *ayuntamiento* (body of municipal officials) usurped the powers of the general assembly. The right to hold office became limited to the *caballeros* or specified families, and the election disturbances and corruption in administration all contributed to a loss of influence. The kings were often forced to intervene and they took advantage of every occasion to gain influence. Alfonso XI started the practice of having some towns ruled by his representatives, and also created the office of *corregidor* who eventually ruled over areas ranging from a city to a province with wide judicial and executive functions. His original duties were to oversee the course of local affairs and represent the king in cooperation with the local *alcaldes*. The *corregidores* gradually acquired considerable influence thus reducing the power of popularly elected officials. Hence, the great families fought, not for votes, but for the favor of the king as this had become a more certain route to public office.

The differences in Castilian political life, especially in the municipalities, were represented by the *Cortes* which grew in importance and then began to decline in the fifteenth century. Its main purpose was still economic rather than legislative through the grants of subsidies by the representatives of the towns. They were not the only sources of revenue but they were so urgently needed that the *Cortes* was able to demand legislation from the kings in exchange for the revenue. The ordinances or petitions were not always enforced so that many were repeated time and again. Such was the case with legislation requested against the Jews, against granting Castilian benefices by the Pope, against the abuses of royal officials and renters of taxes, and against the royal donations to the lords. Sometimes the *Cortes* got what it asked for, such as a law in 1329 prohibiting the issuing of royal letters or orders in blank which allowed the possessor of the letter to insert the name of any one he might choose and promote unjust ends. There was another similar procedure which allowed designated individuals to marry two people with or without their consent, this in face of the fact that the church did not allow divorce. The kings also often granted petitions of a more enlightened nature, such as asking that banditry be suppressed, or that the powers of royal officers be specified, that abuses be corrected, that taxes be lowered, that disputes between stockmen and farmers be regulated, and that judicial procedure be reformed. Several times it was affirmed that no new taxes might be imposed without approval of the *Cortes*. Later kings also maintained Alfonso X's principle that the king had the sole right to legislate. The ordinances of the various *Cortes* were issued without method or plan and lacked the full force of law but they demonstrated the enormous activity of this organ and became a basis for much legislation then and later. The *Cortes* enjoyed the customary organization that was typical of the preceding era. Among the changes there is a law of Juan II fixing the number of representatives from a town at two, and a law of 1351 granting immunity from arrest to members of the *Cortes* while it was in session. After 1301 there was but a single *Cortes* for both Castile and León.

The *Fuero Juzgo* continued to be the general law, but there was very little of it which was not contradicted by other legislation. A tendency toward unification of the laws manifested itself in many ways. Alfonso X issued a municipal charter in 1254 usually called the *Fuero Real* (Royal Charter), a new model, more complete and systematic than those which had preceded it, but based on those already in existence and the *Fuero Juzgo*, thus preserving the Visigothic and early Leonese and Castilian principles of law. The *Fuero Real* was adopted as supplementary law applying in cases of appeal to the royal courts, but was also granted as the local charter of a great many towns.

To accomplish complete unification it is thought that Ferdinand III and Alfonso X planned a single code for the entire land. Ferdinand III may have begun a *setenario* (so called because it was to be in seven parts) which was completed by Alfonso after the former's death. It was never promulgated and may have been intended only as an encyclopedia of law. Alfonso X also compiled an *Especulo* or *Espejo de todos los derechos* which likewise never became law but was a reference work. A far different fate was in store for another legal work.

Siete Partidas

The *Leyes de las siete partidas* or simply the *Partidas* was the work of a number of collaborators under the supervision and direction of Alfonso X himself. These men began work in 1251 and finished in 1265. Some of the laws and customs of Castile, such as the *Fuero Juzgo* and the *Fuero Real* were used as sources, but the preponderant influences were those of the canon law and the codes of the Roman Emperor Justinian. Consequently, the *Partidas* are virtually an encyclopedia of these sources of law, both of which were Roman in origin and very different from the Visigothic and other customs of the time in Castile.

Whether Alfonso intended that the *Partidas* should become the general law or merely an encyclopedia, it was not promulgated in his day. The result is that many later laws contradicted it yet it constantly gained ground and was especially favored by lawyers and university men, both groups being partial to Roman law. In the end, whenever it was not inconsistent with specified compilations, it became the law during the reign of Alfonso XI as a result of an important ordinance of the *Cortes* of Alcalá in 1348. This ordinance set forth that the decisions of that *Cortes* should be the principal fountain of Castilian law followed in order of precedence by the *Fuero Real*, the other municipal charters and finally, as a supplement, by the *Partidas* which was not to be enforced whenever it conflicted with the privileges of the nobility, and these were also confirmed. Despite all this seeming downgrading of the *Partidas* and many another later law which was to take precedence over the above hierarchy, Alfonso X's code was assured of victory from the time of its official promulgation. It gradually became recognized as the principal law of the land.

This code gets its name from the seven parts into which it is divided. Because of its contents it is considered the most outstanding juridical encyclopedia of the Middle Ages. It was complied during the reign of Alfonso X, known as "The Wise" (*El Sabio*), and was begun in 1251. The wise king's special purpose was to coordinate and unify the many and contradictory legal sources of the kingdom and to direct and correct the diction of the jurists.

Not only are political, civil, mercantile, ecclesiastical and penal laws set forth in minute detail, but all the duties of man in relation to his fellow beings, to God and to the king are set forth equally clearly. While fixing legal percepts and ordering their practical application, their origins and bases are studied and substantiated with Biblical authority and the maxims of philosophers and moralists. It constitutes, therefore, a body of legal matter consisting of reasoned precepts, and through it all runs as much practical and philosophical sense as erudition.

In order to make the *Siete Partidas* as complete as possible, the Wise King enlisted the help of the most competent authorities of the time and, where possible, different nationalities thus broadening the usefulness of his work. Consequently, when he deals with the modification of laws he warns that the monarch must proceed in accordance with the knowledge of those who know and understand law. It was his belief that anything unjust or mistaken in the law should be corrected, provided that there were substantiating reasons. And also in his unprecedented belief, the king is no more an exception to the law than are the people for whom it is intended. Furthermore, it should be clear enough that any man can understand and remember it.

The jurists working under the direction of King Alfonso The Wise left to posterity a detailed portrayal of the life of the times. Usage, customs, mentality, details of population, entertainment, domestic chores, the rights of states and individuals, and many other aspects of daily life are carefully recorded in the innumerable laws regulating human relations in complicated medieval society. Modern man in his uniform, equalitarian world can hardly conceive of a way of life in which each class, each religion, each trade or village had its own laws, yet such was the case.

The great and lasting importance of the *Siete Partidas* is summarized by Angel del Río in his *Historia de la literatura española* in the following points: 1) From the legislative point of view it is the source of all modern Spanish law; 2) in historical matters it is the most valuable and complete document for a study of medieval society; 3) in linguistic matters and because it deals with all aspects of human relations, it offers an immensely wealthy vocabulary; 4) it also has considerable literary value; and 5) it is the origin of the organization of the colonial universities of Spain in America.

According to del Mazo in his *La reforma universitaria y la universidad latinoamericana*, this code is the first statute of higher education in Europe and the first state legislation governing universities in the world; it is the charter that inspired and governed the life of Spanish universities in the Iberian peninsula and in the New World until the reform of Charles III in the eighteenth century. The Code defines the educational process beginning with discipline; continuing through the organization of student life, the issuance of diplomas and even the preparation of teachers, the instructional theme or subject matter to be taught and the autonomous jurisdiction of the university. These laws which begin a new era in the history of education are also the first to prescribe standards or principles of university organization and continue to hold sway today in the *ciudad universitaria* (campus).

The description of the *Siete* Partidas by Valbuena Prat in his *Historia de la literatura española* indicates that matters of jurisprudence are divided into seven parts (seven was a magic number in the Middle Ages). The first part deals with the ecclesiastical state and the Christian religion and amounts to a veritable canonical code. It goes into such details as the obligations and standing of prelates and priests as well as the administration of sacraments and dogmatic matters.

The second part has to do with emperors, kings and the other great lords of the land. He enthusiastically takes up a definition of the emperor's honor, authority and perogatives as the highest of all rulers who should bow only before the Pope in matters of protocol and religion. Likewise, he sets forth the concept and duties of an ideal king. From the education and breeding of the prince, not even the most minute detail escapes him as he calls on Seneca and other great thinkers of the time for substantiation. He includes instructions concerning the conduct and even the speech of kings, what the governors ought to teach the princes in matters of cleanliness, dress and eating. An entire gamut of obligations, ceremonies and moral reflections are set forth in what appear to be the severe words of the king himself. He speaks of the people and their relationship to the king, and of war.

The third part deals with the administration of justice and again goes into detail concerning judgment and punishment.

The fourth part deals with matrimony and relationships among men. It goes into matters of marriage, children, the authority of parents over children, servants, and other matters. There is an interesting part in which friendship is defined in accordance with the Aristotlean concept and carries it to a very fine shade of meaning. Among the kinds of friendship he points out one that was a custom in Spain in earlier times among *hidalgos* who "should not dishonor nor harm each other without first cutting off the friendship and challenging each other."

The fifth part prescribes conduct in connection with loans, purchases, trades and all the other suits and threats practiced by men.

The sixth goes into matters of wills, testaments and inheritances, and the seventh throws light on accusations, misdeeds and the penalties and punishments related to them. The interesting part here is that which deals with the Jews. Within the Medieval Catholic sense in which the Jewish race and religion were eschewed, there are, beside the traditional laws of unrelenting oppression and cruelty, certain traits of the wise king which reveal a primitive form of understanding and tolerance. When he refers to the synagogues he uses sentences such as "because the synagogue is a house where the name of God is praised we prohibit all Christians from daring to violate it nor to take or steal from it anything by force unless some malfactor should take shelter in it because they may well capture the latter there by force to take him before justice. We also prohibit that Christians should put animals therein nor camp in them nor embarrass the Jews while they are there engaged in prayer in accordance with their law. It is also prohibited for Christians to harass the Jews on Saturday because they are required to keep this day, according to their law, and no man should summons or take them to court."

Law Enforcement

The towns were now accorded the same treatment as in the previous period. The king and queen did not suppress charters as a general rule, but the *corregidores* and other royal officers were enabled by circumstances to exert virtual control. At the same time, the process of unification was gradually being established by means of the ordinances of the *Cortes* and royal decrees. The unification was further reinforced by the unrecorded development of similarity in customs in Castilian municipal life which was in turn aided and abetted by the representation for royal and municipal interests were often mutual. Extensions of royal authority are noticeable in subjecting local officials to the *residencia,* a kind of examination or trial during a period after the completion of a term of office to determine the liability of an official for the wrongful acts of his administration. Mention has already been made of the royal *pesquisadores* or investigators in cases of crime, and *veedores* or inspectors who later came to be called *visitadores* or visitors whose duty it was to investigate matters of government, accounts of financial agents and the conduct of public officers. These were later transferred to America as a means of sustaining the royal authority.

The decline in the power and influence of the Castilian *Cortes* is evidenced by the fact that between 1475 and 1503 it was summoned but nine times. It grew increasingly more dependent on the *Consejo Real* which subjected the acts of the Cortes to its own revision.

The concentration in royal hands of so many powers formerly exercised by the lords and towns resulted in the development of a numerous bureaucracy the basis of which was the *Consejo Real.* The first step was to rid it of the great nobles and in 1480 the untitled *letrados* became a majority. The counts, dukes and marquises continued to attend but had no vote and were soon excluded all together. The *Consejo Real* now responded to the will of the king without question. It served as the head of the several branches of the bureaucratic organization with the final decision, subject to the wishes of the king, in all matters of government. The vast amount of work involved led to the addition of three more councils, the Inquisition, the military orders and the Council of the Indies, and there were still others in the kingdom of Aragón. Particularly important among the officials was the king's private secretary who came to have a nearly decisive influence owing to the favor he enjoyed with the head of the state. A horde of other officers, new and old, made up the ranks of the bureaucracy. Among the older group it is to be noted that the *adelantados* were replaced by *alcaldes mayores* until only one was left. The newer officials were the important inquisitors and *veedores* or *visitadores.*

The administration of justice also went through a period of development. The ultimate source was the *chancillería* at the capital, Valladolid, under which there were several audiencias below which was the hierarchy of lower grades of justice. Besides regulating and unifying the judicial system, the monarchs gave attention to the internal purification of the courts eliminating the unfit and the undesirable and checking abuses. Corrupt practices of those outside the courts were attacked, especially powerful persons who attempted to overawe judges or procure a miscarriage of justice. One of the principal difficulties was that of conflicts of jurisdiction, especially those involving church courts.

In line with the policy of settling disputes by law rather than by force, the use of firearms was prohibited, gambling was prosecuted and the *riepto* or duel was abolished. Good order according to present-day standards was still lacking so that the medieval idea of the *hermandades* was revived for the punishment of crimes committed in uninhabited places or small villages as well as for the pursuit and execution generally of those guilty of felony. The *Santa Hermandad,* with its official seat at Toledo, was developed as a kind of judicial body sustained by the groups of citizens who formed part of it, employing a militia of mounted men, and making use of summary methods and extreme penalties in its procedure. Its effective life was brief although it continued to exist for many years. On the other hand, the medieval *Hermandad* of Toledo enjoyed a revival of life and usefulness.

The Castilian Inquisition, first created in 1478 for specific and temporary objects, underwent considerable modification when retained as a permanent body to combat heresy in general. The popes refused to allow it to be in all respects a royal instrument, and retained the right of appointing or dismissing inquisitors, permitting the kings to recommend candidates. The extending of the Institution from Seville to other cities in Spain and the creation of a supreme council of the Inquisition have already been mentioned. Ximénez, who became head of the Inquisition of Castile in 1507, extended its operations to Africa and the Americas. The methods of trial were harsh, though less so if guaged by the standards of the time. Torture was used as a means of gaining confessions. The accused was kept utterly apart from his family and friends, who did not learn what had become of him until his liberation or his appearance in an *auto de fe*. The same secrecy was employed in dealing with the prisioner, who was informed of the general charge against him, without the details and without knowing his accuser's name. He was allowed to indicate those in whom he lacked confidence, and if he should chance to hit upon an accuser that person's evidence was eliminated. Two witnesses against him were sufficient to outweigh any testimony he might give. He might have a lawyer, but could not confer with him in private. He might also object to a judge whose impartiality he had reason to suspect, and could appeal to the Pope. Penalties varied from the imposition of a light penance to imprisonment or burning to death. Burning in effigy of those who escaped or burning of the remains of those who had died was also practiced. The *auto de fe* represented, as the words imply, merely the decision in the given case, and not the imposition of the penalty as has often been stated. The general rule was for the executions to take place on holidays, which in Spain are indeed "holy days," or days in celebration of events in church history. A procession was held in which the functionaries of the Inquisition took part. A public announcement of the decisions was made, and those who were condemned to death were turned over to the civil authorities, who carried out the execution in the customary place. (In this connection, reference is made in *Don Quijote* to *andar las acostumbradas.*) As has already been said, the imposition of sentences was accompanied by the levy of fines or confiscations. Since the Inquisition was supported by this type of income there were numerous scandals in connection with it. Certain royal orders implied, and complaints by men of such standing as Juan de Daza, Bishop of Cordoba, directly charge that the Inquisition displayed a too great eagerness to insure its financial standing by confiscation. On one occasion it seems that the estate of a wealthy victim of the Inquisition was divided between Cardinal Carvajal, the Inquisitor Lucero, the royal treasurer Morales, and Ferdinand's private secretary. The funds did not belong in law to the Inquisition. That body was supposed to collect them and turn them over to the king, who would grant them back again.

The new Castilian and Aragonese states required greatly increased funds and a royal army, and both of these matters received the careful consideration of Ferdinand and Isabella. Their activities were twofold, namely, to procure more revenues, and to bring about greater economy in their collection and administration. The revocation of earlier land grants was a productive measure since this now caused the taxes from them to go to the crown rather than to the lords. A papal grant provided two other sources of revenue of a religious character. One of these was the *cruzada* or sale of indulgences based on the crusade against the Moslems. Designed for a temporary purpose it became a fixed element in the royal income. The other was the *diezmo*, or tithe, presumably for the same purpose as the *cruzada*, although it too was diverted to other uses. Great attention was paid to the administration of the remunerative *alcabala*, and to stamp taxes and customs duties. The treasury department, as a modern institution, may be said to date from this era. In addition the Catholic monarchs corrected abuses in the coinage of money. But expenses were still heavy and it was often necessary to have recourse to loans, much as *Mío Cid* did when he borrowed on the strength of two chests full of sand.

At this time the army was modernized and discarded its medieval status. It was maintained at state expense and the principle of universal military service was established. One man in every twelve of those between the ages of twelve and twenty was held liable for military service, but did not take the field and was not paid except when specifically called. (This call to service came to be known as the *appellido* and is the origin of the use of this term to mean the family name.) The glory of the new professional army attracted many who had formerly served the great lords, including a number of the nobility and the adventurous element. Under the leadership of Gonzalo de Ayora and especially of the *Gran Capitán* Gonzalo de Córdoba, noteworthy reforms in tactics were made. The army was now an aggregation of equal groups, based on batallions and companies, while the larger divisions were assigned a proportionate number of infantry, cavalry and artillery. From this period date many current military titles, such as colonel, captain, and others. Arms and equipment were greatly improved and military administration bettered. The importance of firearms was just becoming recognized (even by Don Quijote), cannon firing balls of stone played a prominent part in the war with Granada.

A similar if less pronounced development appeared in the navy. The admiral of Castile, who had enjoyed a semi-independent sinecure, now lost much of his authority, for many of his powers were taken over by the crown.

By a process of natural evolution from the practices current in the reign of the Catholic monarchs the nobles, as a class, came to exhibit characteristics very similar to those of present-day society. They now went to court if they could, or else to the nearest large city where they became a bourgeois nobility. Through social prestige the nobles were still able to procure not only the honorary palace posts but also a majority of the greater political and military commands. Now and then, an untitled *letrado* would attain to a viceroyalty or other high position, but these cases were the exception. The wealthiest men of the times were nobles with whom the richest of the middle-class merchants could hardly compare in material possessions. The more extraordinary accumulations of wealth, based on vast lands and the institution of primogeniture, were confined to a few of the greatest nobles of the land. The vast horde of the *segundones* and others of the lesser nobility found service as before at court, or in the train of some great noble, in the army and in the Church. The nobles retained most of the privileges they had previously enjoyed, but the jurisdiction which they retained was limited by many royal rights of intervention, such as the superior authority of the king's law, or the royal institution of the *pesquisa*.

The hierarchy of the nobility was definitely established in this period. At the top, representing the medieval *ricoshombres*, were the *Grandes* (Grandees) and the *titulos* (titles). The principal difference between the two was that the former were privileged to remain covered in the presence of the king and to be called his *primos* "cousins," while those of the second grade might only be called *parientes* (relatives). (The two words are still used today as greetings.) These empty honors were much esteemed as symbolic of rank. These groups monopolized all titles such as marquis, duke, count and prince. Below them were the *caballeros* and the *hidalgos*. The word *hidalgo* was employed to designate those nobles of inferior rank without fortune, lands, jurisdiction or high public office. The desire for the noble rank of *hidalgo* and the vanity marked by the devising of family shields became a national disease, and resulted, in fact, in the increase of the *hidalgo* class, which was satirized unmercifully by the acid writer Quevedo during the Golden Age. These conditions merely represented the deeply rooted force of noble tradition, which objected to any submission to discipline. Both the hierarchy of the nobility with all its incidents of tremendous estates, jurisdictions, class pride (caste), vanity, and the irresponsible practices of the nobles passed over into the Americas.

A novelty of the era was the growing distinction between the manual arts and the liberal professions the latter of which rose to a higher standing. Thus, lawyers, notaries and doctors were rated above those engaged in manual labor, while there was also a recognized hierarchy among the last-named, from the workers in gold, silver, jewelry and rich cloths down to the drivers of mules. (Any doubt about this carry-over to the New World is dispelled by the truck drivers dressed in their white shirts, coat, tie and perhaps gloves working on the motor of the truck.) There was an exaggerated sense of humor which became a prominent theme in Golden Age drama, a chivalric quixotism, a religious fanaticism, and an exalted predominance of form over the essence of things which ruled Spanish society of the seventeenth century, absolutely and tyrannically, and still rules in Spanish America. Duels and stabbings at the drop of a word to sustain the least question of etiquette, courtesy or honor, scandalous conflicts of jurisdiction between the highest tribunals of state, absurd and ridiculous projects to make silver out of inferior metals fomented by the leading ministers, extremely costly and showy feasts to solemnize ordinary events, while cities, islands, provinces and even kingdoms were being lost through bad government and worse administration. There were frequent and pompous public processions, blind belief in the miraculous virtue of some medal, stamp or old rag of Mother Luisa or some other impostor, and so on and on. To this must be added the misery and ignorance of the common people. University students were somewhat notorious for their turbulence and riots which were not free from undesirable consequences.

Through it all, Spanish writers in the fields of jurisprudence and politics earned reputations for themselves for their originality of thought and for their positive influence on the civilization of other countries. This was due in part to the continuous warfare, the serious religious problems and the many questions arising out of the conquest, colonization and retention of the Americas. It was also the result of the natural tendency in Spanish character to occupy itself with the theoretical aspects of affairs in general and of philosophical thought and its application to life. Spanish jurists became famous in various phases of jurisprudence such as in international, political, penal and canonical law, in the civil law of Rome and of the Spanish peninsula and in legal procedure. Not Grotus (1583-1645), but his Spanish predecessors of the sixteenth century laid the foundations for international law, and the great Dutch jurist more than once acknowledged his indebtedness to Spaniards who, like Victoria and Vázquez, had provided him with rich materials for the thesis he set forth.

The eighteenth century was a particularly flourishing period for jurisprudence for judicial studies were more in keeping with the thought and propaganda in Europe at that time. The writings of Spaniards were directed to propagating or resisting the new juridical ideas, to the jurisdictional struggle between Church and state, to the questions concerning the government of Spain and the reforms needed, and to the preparation of manuals for the teaching of law with the introduction of fresh materials required.

Contemporary Legal Trends

The autonomous countries of Latin America, having been colonies of Spain and Portugal, not only have inherited the cultural norms of the latter, but after their independence they were forced to keep applying the existing legislation until they were able to pass their own. And, furthermore, legislators were so cautious that the first laws they promulgated were inspired by those of the country from which they had gained independence.

In "The Application of Penal Law," Urbaneja presents the following enlightening information.

The first countries to undertake a codification in penal matters were the Republics of El Salvador and Bolivia, both in 1826. Both codes were inspired and copied almost entirely from the Penal Code approved by the Spanish courts in 1822 and of which the members of the Bolivian Assembly said that "it was the product of the philosophy of the best criminologists of the century and in conformity with the principles of Bentham, Beccaria and other writers. . . . "

The Spanish American Penal Codes have been influenced by the Penal Code of California, and by those of France, Spain, Italy and Belgium.

The Penal Code of Puerto Rico of 1902 is based on the Penal Code of California and differs from the other Spanish American Penal texts in that it is rooted in the Anglo-Saxon law.

The Codes of the Dominican Republic and Haiti were directly influenced by the French Penal Code of 1808, and both their structure and content are identical to their model.

The Ecuadorean Code is inspired by the Belgian Code, and to some extent by the Spanish and Italian legislation.

The Codes of Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, Paraguay and Cuba were written under the Spanish influence. The Italian trace is found in the Codes of Uruguay, Panama and Venezuela.

"As to the scholastic orientation of the Codes, we can say that they are classic in their form, except the codes of Cuba and Colombia which are positivist, and those of Peru, Mexico, Uruguay, Brazil and Costa Rica which are politico-criminal."

"For the judicial application of the criminal law in ordinary proceedings, almost all the countries apply the twofold system of the secret preliminary inquest followed by a public trial. In the last part of this process, some differences are to be observed because in some few countries, proceedings are made orally, whereas in the majority of them proceedings are carried on in writing. Everywhere judges alone hear the cases and the decision is binding only upon the said cases. Experiences with trial by jury were not successful and the countries where they were attempted finally returned to the system of the judge alone."

"In our countries, the delinquent does not encounter animosity. He is regardded as an unfortunate man and instead of hatred he gets indifference or compassion. This is partly due to the fact that organized delinquency is in its very first state and that the majority of the delicts have for causes passion motives, alcohol influence or the occasion. The punishment must necessarily be completed by an extensive work of prevention."

This chapter may be concluded with the words of Fernando Fournier of Costa Rica in his article titled "Advances of Judicial Administration in Latin America:"

"All through these last generations we have been living in an epoch that has belonged to the jurist. The revolutions of England, the United States, France and Latin America created this modern world where we live, with their common ideals based on reason and on the exaltation of man's freedom and dignity. Since this took place, the natural leader of our societies has been the lawyer. No other profession prepares man better for the type of society in which we have lived for the past 150 years. From no other source may our contemporary communities expect a better leadership. The tools of our profession are the laws, the laws are supposed to be the instruments made by reason to bring justice to man. Therefore, it should not be a surprise for anybody to find out that up to now most of our countries have over-whelmingly been lawyer governed republics.

"However, as all foresee it, it may be that we are witnessing the last stages of such an epoch, for the era of the jurist may already be giving way to the supremacy of the technician. And if that is the case, wouldn't this be the moment to ask ourselves how successfully have we [lawyers] played our role in history. Have we thoroughly attained our ideal of building a society where mankind may find justice, peace and order? I am afraid we have not.

"The technical society of the future is going to have at its disposal mechanical devices which may bring the self-destruction of humanity, unless that society also has the proper organization and the rules of order and justice to prevent it. And, unfortunately, we don't have it yet.

"Modern law has freed men in many countries and in many aspects of life. But modern techniques have developed military instruments which, if used in a society not prepared to guarantee the respect of human dignity, may become tools for the more efficient enslaving of men. On the other hand, modern science has developed techniques for the exploitation of natural resources in land and in the sea which, if not properly harnessed, may only cause the further impoverishment of the people of some sections of the world."

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Chapter III

The Church

Historical Aspects

Whatever the Spaniards may have become, good or bad, reflects in the final analysis the fact that from the beginning of their history, they had to face and deal with the most disastrous and unfortunate conditions of life growing out of the Mohammedan occupation. This overwhelming catastrophe made it obligatory to adopt new collective attitudes which eventually became established as habit and custom. This was a fiery, formative period that inevitably had the long range effect of causing to take form slowly but surely those traits and characteristics, the psychological perspectives, that became the fact of present-day Spanish American character and personality. Those conditions also forced the gradual structuring of a system of castes. This secular process, created by the religious environment, resulted in the Christian caste affirming its existence as a reaction vis-a-vis the religions against which it was compelled to defend itself. The Christians, while deeply anxious about their religion, lived with and among Moors and Jews, sometimes peacefully, more often at war with each other.

Spanish life was preoccupied and felt insecure precisely because Spaniards had not created their own social system with its privileges, duties and responsibilities either by common agreement or by revolution. There were no forms or formalities within which the Spaniard might operate and beyond whose limits, however imprecise, he dared not venture. The escape mechanism by which he sought release from the tensions so created was an effort to cause, or a pretense, that the other castes should become full-fledged and integrated members of the Christian caste, through the medium of the magic of baptismal water and by becoming overnight believers and faithful practitioners of the religion of the more powerful caste.

In a later century the Reformation in the rest of Europe was to sidetrack religious interest and focus it on conduct and the social efficiency of man, but at the same time it closed the door upon the emotional soliloquy of the soul with God. The religion of the Reformation ended up by becoming converted into a theology applied to practical life and imposed controls to prevent personal attitudes tending to break social bonds.

In contrast, consequently, Spanish religion is based on a Catholicism quite different from that of Rome and France, not to mention

Anglo America. It is a form of belief that is characteristic of Spain, intelligible only within the peculiar casticity of her history. As is true of the language, the institutions, the scarce capacity for objective science, the Spanish religion with its overflowing expression and integral personalism can be understood only in light of the nine hundred years of alternating fierce antagonism and peaceful intermingling of Christian, Jew and Mohammedan. The Hispanic theocracy, the impossibility of organizing Spain or (later) Spanish America as a purely legal state founded upon objective interests and not on personal magic (see Chapter II) are an expression of the functioning and disposition of the internal life of the Spaniard developed during those nine hundred years of fanatical antagonism to Jew and Mohammedan.

The law of the *Siete Partidas* may be said to have sanctioned illicit commerce between the castes and made special reference to relations between Christian women and the infidel. The jurisprudence of the Moors and Jews, however, underscores the effect of transgressions upon public opinion and identifies the individual honor or reputation with that of the community. This is found again among Spaniards of the sixteenth century who confused individual honor-reputation with the collective and deemed it a collective dishonor when a single Spaniard incurred in heresy. It is no less peculiar that the Inquisition should sanction moral lapses such as concubinage the same as attacks against religion, which strengthened the similarity with the tribunals. Law, religion, morals and collective cohesion, for the caste came to be one and the same and an outgrowth of this came to be a religious type of patriotism, the only unifying force in all Spain until 1474.

Thus we begin to understand the strange identification that was established between the Church and the State in Spain and how it is inseparable from the Christian, Islamic and Jewish context within which nothing is recognizable as pure and abstract Christianity, Mohammedanism or Judaism. This new and vital situation produced no change in respect to the functioning of the possibilities or impossibilities of which the intimate history of Spain was made up — a composition or compound of belief in and conscience of the manner in which one's person is existing — and not of the world around it. One becomes identified with his caste, not with a nation or profession, hence the emphasis is on being.

The Inquisition and the seeking for "purity of blood" satisfied in a superlative degree the possibilities and the true inclinations of the Christians. Their religious customs of the sixteenth century rested upon eight hundred years of depth, fiery religious and territorial conflict. During that time their peninsula had been invaded by tribes of Africans in the eleventh and twelfth centuries who were eager to reestablish the full vigor of the Islamic faith which had become lax under the factional kings. The northern Christians tenaciously opposed the penetration of foreign heresies while at the same time they throttled in their minds any thought that might be dangerous to the stability of their faith. It is not an accident that the book that was decisive in bringing back the wayward who had strayed from the Mosaic faith was the work of Maimónides, a Cordoban Jew. The struggle among the castes with their strong sense of cohesive unity and superiority, is what gives meaning to the insistence upon maintaining a compact kingdom for the purpose of making war on the outside without disaffections and weakness on the inside.

One thing that the Spanish kings failed to do elsewhere in Europe they achieved in Spain — their ideal of religious unity. At the same time that they were suppressing heresy they were giving a welcome to catholics fleeing to Spain from protestant persecution, notably to the Irish, who came to the peninsula in great numbers. The ideal of catholic unity was carried to an excess which transcended unity itself through an extension of the institution of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood). Certificates of *limpieza de sangre* (that is to say, sworn statements that the bearer had no Jewish, Moslem or heretic antecedents) now began to be required for the holding of various church offices or for entry into the religious orders and often also for admission to the guilds. As a matter of fact, there were few families which could have withstood a close examination of their ancestry; the upper classes would almost surely have been found to be tainted by Jewish blood, and the masses, certainly in the east and south, would have had a Moslem admixture in their veins. The attainment of religious unity and the extreme suspicion in which non-catholics were held did not succeed in making the Spanish people respond to the moral code of their faith. Not only such licentious practices as have already been referred to were in vogue, but also a surprising lack of reverence was displayed, as exemplified by the improper use of sacred places and sacred objects and the mixture of the human and the divine in masquerades, vestiges of which may still be seen today in Spanish America. Nevertheless, it is not too much to say that the principal preoccupation of the Spaniards in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the salvation of their souls. The worst of men would want to confess and seek absolution before he died, and many of them no doubt believed themselves to be good catholics, even though their everyday life would not have borne inspection. One notable religious manifestation of the era was the ardent insistence of the Spaniards on the mystery of the Immaculate Conception at a time when catholics of other countries were not yet ready to accept this view.

Few periods of history more clearly illustrate the distinction maintained in catholic countries between Catholicism as a religious faith and the Catholic Church as an institution, a difference which Anglo Americans do not readily comprehend. Roughly, faith is a way of being while the Church is a guide to conduct and an administrative organ. Thus it was entirely consistent that the kings of Spain should have been the most ardent champions in Europe of Catholic Christianity, the officers of the Church not excepted, and also most persistent in their endeavors to limit the ecclesiastical authority in Spanish domains. The greatest exponent of the latter policy as well as of the former was Phillip II, one of the most devout monarchs who ever occupied the Spanish throne. In both of these controversies the kings were successful. Heresy made no headway in Spain or in the colonies, and the king gained the upper hand in the management of the Spanish and the American Church.

Organization

The kind of religion described above resulted in some interesting conditions that account for much that is Spanish. For one thing, to embody the concept of the dichotomy of faith and church, there is a double church hierarchy, one spiritual and the other worldly. The members of the spiritual hierarchy are the saints who can intercede on behalf of sinners and attempt to gain the assistance or intercession of the chief of this hierarchy, the Queen of Heaven, the Mother of one of the Trinity, the Virgin Mother of God. She is man's best intercessor with her Son who gave his life as Redeemer for lost mankind, the only one who can insure grace. These are the objects of man's worship, and it will be recalled that this was the aspect of the church against which Martin Luther openly rebelled in 1517. This is a religion in which worship is directed at intercessors and not directly to God. This point is emphasized by José Deharbe, S. I., in his book titled *Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana* which was published in Barcelona, Spain, 1955, as the textbook for the Advanced Course. While answering the question why Christ ascended into heaven he says, among four reasons, to be our mediator and intercessor before the Father. On a later page he asks how we are united to the saints in heaven. His answer is that we revere and invoke the saints and they in turn pray to God for us.

It has already been suggested that there is a difference between the worship of God and that of the saints. Deharbe makes the distinction by saying that God is honored and worshipped as the sovereign Lord of all things; the saints are worshiped as His faithful servants and friends; God is honored for who He is, the saints are revered for the supernatural powers granted them by God, and by means of which, among other things, they may intercede for man. Thus, the spiritual or saintly hierarchy, in descending order, consists of Christ at the top followed by the Virgin Mother Mary and she in turn by the other saints. A possible authority for this order may be found in I Timothy xi:5-6 in which the Apostle Paul says: "for there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time."

The intercession thus provided is greatly to be desired inasmuch as it may produce Grace for the individual. As is seen elsewhere, Grace is the only means to salvation for man.

In other words, man is a sinner and nothing that he can do will change this condition or state. According to Deharbe again, in the Catholic Church it is possible to gain the forgiveness of all sins and their penalties by virtue of the merit of Jesus Christ our Lord, and this is based upon Matthew (xviii:18). Only by intercession on the part of those saints who have been properly placated (appeased) can Grace be obtained — it comes by chance or through the omnipotent will of God, as a result of fortuitous intercession. The individual looks to the saints (to Heaven) for his salvation and he may enlist the aid of the clergy, but improvement of self or the environment is not a means to gain a place in heaven. This pessimistic view of life leads to a static, perhaps stagnant view of the human condition and possibilities: there is nothing to be gained by attempting to improve. There is, apparently, a literal acceptance of the admonition to give no thought to the morrow, no more than the lily does concerning its raiment nor the grasshopper to its food or to the future. There is literally and unconsciously a child-like faith that God in his omnipotence and great love will provide.

Deharbe asks the pointed question, can we with our capabilities believe and practice enough to attain our salvation, and answers it negatively. He says that it is not possible without divine grace. It may be that the justification for this attitude is based on Ephesians ii:8-9 where the Apostle Paul says: "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast." Presumably, it is on some such basis that Deharbe proceeds to define grace as all supernatural aid and benevolence which God may grant free in consideration of the merit of Christ so that by cooperating with Him we may attain salvation. The supernatural is defined as that which is related to eternal life; and it is so high that no creature, because of his natural condition, has any right to it, nor is he capable, through his natural abilities, in any way of attaining it. Then he adds that auxiliary or present grace is a supernatural gift by means of which the Holy Ghost illuminates our understanding and moves our will to avoid evil and do good. Also, auxiliary grace is so necessary to us that without it we cannot begin, continue nor finish any work that would help us on the way to eternal life. To ensure this we should avoid resistance to and cooperate with grace faithfully. To this must be added, of course, the placating or appeasing of the saints in order to obtain their intercession in our favor: everything else is futile. This in spite of another Biblical reference which reads: "For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also." (James ii:26)

The practice of worshipping the saints, in the hope of gaining their intercession, and of looking upward for all things resulted in a belief in the possibility of communion with God simply because the Christian caste always turned inward. This inwardness and a desire for communion with God produced mysticism of which there were several practitioners of note in Spain who excelled those of other countries. It traces back through the ideas of Raymond Lull to those of the Arabic philosophers, but in the main it was a product of the Spanish religious thought of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The fundamental idea was that faith consists of direct communication with God through prayer, love of God, and the renunciation of earthly things which, when carried to its conclusion, enabled the purified soul in a state of ecstasy to appear in the divine presence. The whole process was accompanied by miracles, but without any loss to the individual of his spiritual existence or of his intelligence for an understanding of God. At first the ecclesiastical authorities were suspicious of it, prohibiting the writings of the mystics and instigating investigations into the conduct of those who professed a belief in it. At length, however, it was accepted as orthodox, and its devotees were not molested. They produced a rich literature, in which they set forth not only the fundamental bases of their belief but also the experiences they had in journeying to God. One of the mystics, María de Jesús Agreda, is famous as "the Blue Lady" of the Anglo American Southwest and Pacific Coast, for she is said to have visited these regions while in a state of ecstasy and to have converted many of the natives, recounting her travels in her published works. She is also famous for her correspondence with Phillip IV. The greatest names, however, were those of Santa Teresa de Jesús and San Juan de la Cruz. the former notable in literature for the excellence of her prose, and the latter equally noted as a poet. The writings of these and other mystics also displayed a profound psychological study, such, for example, as was required by their ability to distinguish between the processes of the soul on the way to communication with God, and their skill in differentiating between the various elements in religious sentiment. This was a fertile field for both literature and philosophical thought. In the strict sense mysticism studies the relationships between the soul and God, and asthetics teaches man the road to virtue and perfect happiness by means of abnegation, sacrifice and love. But the two are closely related in the Spanish mystics, according to Miguel Romera-Navarro in his *Historia de la literatura española.* He explains that they not only study divine truth but also attempt to know the human soul and even external nature in relationship with the Creator. The works of these writers study not only the intelligence, but also the heart. Europe had not previously seen as deep a study of the emotions and for this reason the Spanish mystics played a large part in the discovery of another new world, the world of psychology. Their works investigate morals, customs and active, everyday life, i.e., the weaknesses of human nature and the spiritually sublime.

There were over 4000 mystic writers among whom, including those mentioned above, the most notable were the following: Juan de Avila (1500-1569) who gave all manner of advice in letters written to people in all walks of life; Santa Teresa de Jesús (1515-1582) who wrote *Las Moradas* or the seven inner sanctums which had great appeal for Spanish-speaking people and touches upon a subject developed by Castro in the previously mentioned publication. Fray Luis de Granada (1504-1588) who was the wisest and most eloquent Spanish preacher of the sixteenth century, was more esthetic than mystic, and deals with the mysteries of faith in his *Introducción del símbolo de la fe* (Introduction of the symbol of faith).

Having seen the foregoing brief exposition of the nature of the faith and the guiding spiritual hierarchy of the church, attention can now be turned to the more worldly organization. According to Deharbe the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of this worldly edifice is defined by Christ in Matthew xviii, which reads in part (verses 15-18) as follows:

> If thy brother shall offend against thee . . . tell the church. And if he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican. . . . Whatsoever you shall bind upon the earth shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon the earth shall be loosed in heaven.

From this it follows that there can be but one such church and, as it is historical and was instituted on earth, there can be but one church visible on earth. Since it is divine as well as human it contains and consummates the whole divine creation, the Church triumphant, the Church suffering and the Church militant, and in the fullness of Him that filleth all in all, within the compass of its sacramental purpose it is infallible in the sphere of faith (i.e., man's apprehension of God) and in the sphere of morals (i.e., man's essential relation with God and man). This infallible authority is not to be confounded in any sense with "power"; it is the infallible authority of knowledge which is of the essence of the union of man with God — knowledge not achieved as in the natural sciences externally by observation, hypothesis and experiment, but inherent and essential as God knows himself and His creatures and the nature of the unity which He wills and accomplishes. This is further developed succinctly by Deharbe when he insists that the Church never teaches anything new, that the Pope is infallible, and that the Church only explains and defends the ancient doctrine received from Christ and His apostles. On an earlier page he has taught that Christ, through His passion and death, redeemed us from sin, He "merited" grace for us along with the dignity of being the children of God and the right to Glory. The effectual operation of this entire sacrament, the vital activity of the divine organism, is known as grace.

The organization which implements the foregoing doctrine is a worldly hierarchy consisting of trained religious headed up by the Pope. This is the organization that ministers to the worldly needs of the faithful in exchange for unquestioning obedience to the teachings of the holy fathers who interpret the scriptures and witness to the revelation of God. It offers absolution of sins, intercession for the purpose of obtaining grace and perpetuates the status quo and seeks to dominate the entire New World. An interesting treatment of this in fictional form may be found in *Carmen Ariza* by Charles F. Stocking.

The worldly hierarchy, headed by the Pope, consists, in descending order, of cardinals, bishops and priests. The existence of this hierarchy, which Deharbe refers to as infallible, is justified by Angel Alcalá Galve in his book *La Iglesia: misterio y misión*, published in Madrid. He says it is justified readily by the fact that the Church is a supernatural community of worship in which, by its very constitution, everything that is holy, efficient and worthwhile *comes from above.* The hierarchy of the priesthood is an indispensible factor of the Christian Church, on the same level as Christ Himself, whose mysterious mission is continued by the priesthood across the centuries. The existence of a jurisdictional hierarchy in the Church is justified in turn by the fact that the Church is a human community that must be directed, orientated and efficiently regulated in the name of Christ toward its own supernatural ends.

The explanation continues with the idea that on both planes, on the vertical or supernatural and on the horizontal or the community plane, the members of the hierarchy act by delegation and in the name of Christ, who is at once Redeemer and Shepherd of souls. Just as His absence since ascension originates the need for the Church to be His mystic Body, so likewise His absence since that same day makes indispensable the instrumental service of its priests. The respective powers and duties on the several levels of the priestly hierarchy are explained in some detail in this same book but are not particularly relevant here. What may be more germain is Galve's discussion of the relationship between man and the Church. After a prefatory paragraph he concludes that Mary is not just the most excellent member of the Church. She, like Christ, is above the Church, is above the mystic body, above the community of Christians. The Church only distributes grace, but does not merit it. In this concept, Mary not only distributes grace but also is efficacious in attaining it for us while depending upon Christ and united with Him. One concludes, then, that it is necessary to seek the intercession of the worldly hierarchy of the Church, the saintly hierarchy and through both the intercession of Mary in order to attain grace which may or may not be granted and which is the only means to salvation.

The foregoing makes it abundantly clear that there must be considerable uncertainty as to the extent to which the Church meets individual needs. No wonder, then, that Galve devotes a few pages to the crisis in the Church and in faith. After discussing the results of questionnaires and research in Europe, noting the apathy of youth and of labor, he also discusses adult problems in general. He admits the burden of their weight and lists a few along with some criticism of the Church itself: the stagnation of the Church in empty forms of thought, of life and of the past which keeps it irremediably backward; inability to adapt to the necessities of the times; a *manifest inefficacy in the face of a technical world* which it does not know how to cope with as well as a rural world which is slipping through its hands; excessive *bureaucracy* and monetary basis for almost all of its spiritual services; incompetence for a dialogue, on a calm and diplomatic plane, with new concepts of life, with the Christians who have separated from it, even with Communism; historical incapacity and total breakdown in its missionary confrontation with Islam and with the religions of Oriental Asia; the middle-class character adopted, the lack of validity and of accuracy in formulating the Christian requirements of an authentic social revolution; the hypocracy, the spiritual and moral insincerity of the priests; religious superficialism and collective semi-superstition benevolently tolerated by large masses of the people. He continues his discussion but enough of his thought has been shown here to indicate the role that the church plays and its probable effects upon personality and the way of life in general.

The Church Transferred

There was no more important institution in the Spanish colonies than the Roman Catholic Church. To it early Spanish American Society owed much that was beneficial and a little that was harmful. The clergy, both regular and secular, came over with the first explorers, conquerors and settlers, and continued to come in increasing numbers until by the closing decades of the XVI century the civil officials complained of a superabundance. By 1600, the church was organized into five arch-bishoprics and twenty-seven bishoprics, and there were scores of other ecclesiastical dignitaries as well as many hundreds of priests. At the same time, the monasteries numbered more than 400, with probably 2,000 Jesuits and members of the mendicant orders. There were also three Tribunals of the Inquisition, one at Lima, another at Mexico City, and a third at Cartagena, Colombia, designed to prevent any deviations from the dogma of the church.

At first the Spanish crown controlled the church in America directly through the Council of the Indies, but in 1600 the *Cámara de Castilla*, was set up as an aid to the Council. It made the final decisions concerning ecclesiastical appointments and regulated the clergy and their activities. Bishops and archbishops were appointed sometimes by the crown, again by the Council or by the *Cámara*. Interior clerical positions were filled by church officials with the approval of higher officers or administrative agencies, even by the crown.

The church was considerably limited by the civil power yet it was permitted to have its own courts. These courts, under the common law, tried all cases dealing with spiritual matters of the clergy.

The crown was determined to establish and maintain an orthodox church in the colonies and it wanted especially to insure the Christianized natives against contamination and heresy. Hence there were admitted to the Indies only those persons who were of unquestionable religious beliefs and antecedents. Nevertheless, many of questionable status succeeded in reaching the colonies. Consequently, in 1569, the crown decreed the establishment of separate tribunals of the Inquisition in the New World. The first was organized in Lima, 1570, the second in Mexico City, the following year.

The courts were aimed mostly at protestants and Portuguese Jews. The punishment inflicted included flogging, imprisonment, assignment to the galleys, banishment and death. All sentences automatically resulted in confiscation of property. Some death sentences were by burning at the stake, but these sentences were rare. Torture was also inflicted as is evidenced by the remains of some of the machinery in the Cathedral in Cajamarca, Peru. The confiscation of the property of the victims of the Inquisition greatly enhanced the wealth of the church.

The Church offered an attractive career because it made possible a life of relative comfort in many established communities. Because of this, many of those who went into the clergy did so in order to insure an easy way of life rather than for the purpose of serving mankind. As a consequence, the authoritities in Mexico began to fear the wealth of the Church. It was the Church's constantly increasing wealth that made possible the life of idleness enjoyed by many clergymen.

The clergy, however, had made large contributions to sixteenth-century achievement. If the intolerant zeal of a few had sometimes abetted the cruelties of the conquerors, if eagerness to enlarge the wealth of the Church had led some to make use of compulsory Indian labor, the occasional tender human sympathy of others had often restrained ruthless laymen and softened the hard lot of the natives. If too large a number of *padres* or priests exploited the Indians, many more undertook the task of christianizing and civilizing them with a devotion seldom surpassed in the annals of the faith, however superficial the conversion may have been. If there was just ground for complaint at the accumulation of ecclesiastical wealth, it must be admitted that the colonial inhabitants owed to the church nearly all that they received in education, hospitalization and charity. The earnest preaching and propaganda of many such men as Padre de las Casas aroused the Spanish monarchs to a realization of the miserable conditions of the native wards and led to considerable humane, if largely ineffective, legislation. The failure of such legislation, notably the famous laws of 1542 designed to abolish Indian slavery and serfdom and exempt the natives from the heaviest types of work, was caused mainly by the opposition of the colonial officials and the laity, although a few clergymen were to blame. It is not likely, either, that these humane laws would have been issued if they had not been demanded by de las Casas and his associates. The Spanish monarchy that deliberately used the state church as an agency of colonial enterprise could not entirely ignore its views.

Nevertheless, the church in Spanish America was very wealthy. It received annually large sums from gifts, tithes, bequests and other ecclesiastical revenues and is said to have owned between one-third and one-half of all the private property in the colonies. Besides many monasteries and many large temples of worship elegantly and sometimes gaudily furnished and decorated, it had vast urban and rural properties and an extensive money-lending business. Moreover, the tribunals of the Inquisition in Lima and Mexico City enjoyed large incomes and toward the last decade of the century had between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 *pesos* in their coffers.

Most of the income of the church was expended on charity, religious festivals, and schools. In fact, nearly every educational institution in the colonies owed its initiation and support largely to the church, which also controlled curricula and educational policy and furnished almost all the teachers. Yet many ecclesiastics of every order and degree are said to have spent their lives in luxury and dissipation little becoming the followers of the lowly Nazarene. Moreover, tithes and other dues, as already noted, were often oppressive to the lower classes, while ecclesiastical administration of real estate was not such as to bring in the best returns. On the economic affairs of Spanish America as on those of Spain, the church cast the blight of its dead hand. In the New World it became professional according to Hulbert, and the distinguishing characteristics of Christian symbolism disappeared. The clergy lost their missionary zeal and personal devotion. Luxurious monasteries and ornate churches were built by Indian labor. The purification started by Luther did not reach the New World. Convents and monasteries offered such a luxurious life that many priests practiced fraud to get permits for entrance to Mexico. Even earlier, however, and despite the flourishing condition of the Spanish clergy and their high standing in the peninsula the state of morality among them left much to be desired. Abundant evidences on this score are at hand beginning with the much earlier *Libro de Buen Amor* (1330) by the Arcipreste de Hita and the unsympathetic attacks and satires of the time, but also in the works of the zealous and devout reformers. The fact that such writings were not condemned by the Inquisition argues their need. The practice of *barragania* was not unknown, even among bishops, some of whom entailed estates to their sons. Among the lesser churchmen, more particularly the secular clergy, the custom was more general.

Thus the two hierarchies place the emphasis on man's condition, on his state of being and neither one makes any allowance or provision for change of human nature or the environment. The only hope is through grace and man is what he is and will never be different. There is no escape except by the will of God. Hence, it is futile to try to change either human nature or physical nature, and from this it follows that knowledge is to be acquired, not for the purposes of application or changing and controlling nature, but for the sake of knowledge only, or to know more about man's relationship with God and this again produces no change in nature. It does make the individual personality all important and places emphasis on being, and on being a member of a superior caste which cannot stoop to the things that other castes do. Therefore, slaves, foreigners and technicians are welcome as long as they are willing to support the ruling caste. Everything must emphasize the imperial superiority of the ruling caste.

Church vs. State

The vital forms of the Middle Ages and changing modern times have been regarded as two forces which were struggling against each other and tearing the soul of Hispanic America asunder. The struggle grew out of the friction generated by the grinding against each other of two opposing ways or philosophies of life. In succinct and abbreviated form they may be termed "Catholicism" and "republicanism." Instead of forming a manner of mutual aid society, they were at each other's throat. Religion, according to some Spanish American philosophers, should have supported politics and vice versa, and this could have been the basis for a lasting peace and a source of strength. Herein lies the cause of anarchy and weakness. Catholicism, transplanted from Spain, is the religion of South America whose politics is the imported republican form of government. But Catholicism denied the fundamental principles of a republican government, the sovereignty of the people and the sovereignty of all men. On the other hand, republicanism denies the dogma which imposes upon it blind obedience and denies any authority which attempts to force it to give such obedience. This is a dualism that will destroy South America if steps are not taken to remedy the situation, but agreement is practically impossible. The problem may be analyzed into two propositions between which a choice must eventually be made. Either Catholicism will come out victorious and monarchy and theoracy rule in America, or republicanism wins out with free reason and the religion of law ruling the conscience of every man. The medieval forces and the modern forces each seek their own manner of existing. Catholicism will build its own political world in the form of a monarchy or the republican principle will have its way and affirm its dogma in the form of rationalism. Both Catholicism and republicanism seek each its own complement within their own understanding of life. The Catholic religion searches for its appropriate form of government. The republican form of government searches for its religion. The policy of the first is monarchy, the religion of the second is rationalism. The struggle between these two forces has been more and more open. America has been warned by its philosophers of the danger awaiting. The church is no longer content with spiritual power; it seeks and struggles openly to attain material power. Some of the philosophers have said that the Catholic religion is tired of spiritual supremacy and wants and aspires to temporal supremacy. In this statement and the remainder of this section we are deeply indebted to Leopoldo Zea's *The Latin American Mind.*

In this struggle the republican form of government would base its principles on the eternal axiom of liberty. But the struggle is difficult in Spanish America for the republican forces because their followers still do not have a sense of freedom nor do they understand what it is to support and fight for a political idealogy. The American mind, as will be shown later, resists the stimulation of free thought. Spanish Americans still do not consider themselves free. But there is no time to hesitate and it is necessary to choose between one form or the other, i.e., to accept domination or freedom. It is all the more necessary to choose if what is wanted is a strong America. In order to make America strong it will be necessary for Catholicism to predominate with all of its consequences, as in Rome, or for liberty to do so as in the United States. To paraphrase Zea, there is at least one Spanish American philosopher (Bilbao), for whom Anglo America and Rome are the two citadels of the forces in conflict.

Another interpretation of the conflict is to call the forces in opposition the colonial (Spanish heritage) and the modern. Then it may be said that the forces of progress and those of retrogression followed the war for independence but this only gave the clergy an opportunity to increase their power. Independence, whose most obvious results were fought for and obtained by material force, created a predominance of the military and the habit of considering brute force and priestly aspirations as the only powers. Dictatorships abounded and continue to do so under different guises.

The forces of progress became identified with liberal ideals, while the forces of retrogression were only the continuation or remainders of habits imposed by the forces represented by Spain. The clergy and the military busied themselves with efforts to maintain inherited privileges in Spanish America while the forces of progress were inclined to carry out the seizure of the property of the clergy, the elimination of the privileges of both the clergy and the military, the extension of public education among the people absolutely independent of the clergy, the suppression of monastic orders, the absolute freedom of opinion, the equality of foreigners with nationals in civil law, and the establishment of trial by jury in criminal cases. Hence, it is obvious that the struggle was between one force that upheld the interests of a group, as in the Middle Ages, and another which attempted to protect the interests of the public. The opposition was not to the clergy or the military but to the spirit which they attempted to maintain. Both were considered necessary but both must be in the public service, at the service of the people, and not the contrary.

The Spanish American has been prevented from becoming a completely modern man. (It has been said that the Renaissance was never felt in Spanish America.) The reason for this state of affairs is to be found, once more, in his Medieval Spanish heritage from which he has not been able to free himself fully. This heritage is even blamed for the inability of the Spanish American to understand the modern meaning of nationalsim, but it is more likely due to his centuries-old tradition and practice of religious patriotism as described above.

For reasons set forth in Chapter II, in the civil realm of old Spain there was a marked tendency to create corporations and to accumulate about them privileges and exemptions from the common law. Only within the framework of these privileges were the Spaniards and Spanish Americans able to act. The feeling of nationalism did not exist. The only sense of unity that existed was that of a common religion. There was only the feeling of the group with all the privileges appertaining thereto. To attempt to discuss national interests with this type of mentality would be like speaking to him in Swahili. He did not know and therefore he could not recognize any interests other than those of the special group or groups to which he belonged and to uphold them he would sacrifice those of the rest of society. If a congress were to be convened at that time its members would be elected by special groups and not by the electorate. Each one would consider himself a representative of his group or groups and not of the nation. Undoubtedly, there would be many discussions over rights and privileges but no concern at all for the masses.

This heritage is what keeps the Spanish American from placing national interests above those of a private nature. But, class interests are contrary to and destroy the public interest. This typical spirit impedes the march of progress which seeks the common good of all society. An *esprit de corps* produces and supports the opposite of social principles; nothing exists beyond its own interests. The class, privileged group or caste is dishonored by the dishonor of one of its members; hence, as was seen in Chapter II, there is great activity to hide the crime or save the culprit, to remove him from the hands of authority or to prevent his punishment. And conversely, the greater the violation of law the more he is esteemed by the public. This is an attitude which has accomplished nothing if not the complete perversion of all principles of public morality. The *esprit de corps* undermines what public morality there may have been and ignores the ideas which should be held concerning it.

One of the outstanding figures of Argentine history, well known in and knowing well the United States, a philosopher, outstanding educator and second president of his country, Sarmiento, had some harsh things to say about Spanish Americans. To him Spanish Americans are but the heirs of all the defeats of the Spanish race and to these must be added those of the races with whom they have mixed.

As for the intelligence of the Spanish people, it was his opinion that it became atrophied by a kind of mutilation cauterized with fire. He used anatomy as the basis for the statement that a muscle not used for centuries becomes atrophied through lack of use. Then referring to Spanish Americans he mistakenly feared that in general their brain is smaller than that of the peninsular Spaniard because of the mixture with races that are known to have smaller brains than Europeans. In his misguided thinking, democracy, and with it the liberty which it presupposed, were as a result impossible among a people who inherited a mentality diminished by despotic forces.

It was stated by Sarmiento, in *Facundo*, that only barbarous people could conceive of imposing beliefs by means of fire and torture. He also claimed that Phillip II was the embodiment of the Mohammedan-Spanish principle of the unity of beliefs. He and not the Pope established the Inquisition, an institution that was nothing but Mohammedan heritage. He believed that without Mohammed there would have been no Inquisition in Spain.

Esteban Echeverría is cited by Zea as having advanced the theory that the principal forces that were effective in checking the progressive movement of the American revolution were two fatal legacies from Spain: its customs and legislation. The Spanish American, accustomed to dictatorships and trained to obey, did not know what to do with liberty when independence came and he fell into chaos.

The feudal spirit and Catholicism, both of which opposed the modern spirit of liberal democracy, were inherited from Spain. The past of Spanish America is the Middle Ages of Spain. The body and soul of the Middle Ages was Catholicism and feudalism. This is the heritage of the Spanish Americans, a Catholicism that glorifies slavery. The inability to form and support political parties finds its basis in the fact that the mentality of the Spanish American was molded by the standards of Roman Catholicism. This mentality could not adapt itself, without previous education, to the standards of republicanism.

It has been said that Anglo America serves as an example of a true reform movement because in reform there is a continual change in the forms of life based upon the sovereignty of reason in every man. The origin of this difference between Spanish and Anglo American lies in the different mentalities. In non-Catholic and free countries man is sovereign and respects the sovereignty of his fellow man. There are no infallibles who come to power, and all men have faith in the law which guarantees their rights and faith in the vote of all men, which cannot contravene their rights. If there is error, there is no imposition, and they expect the infallible progress of conviction. Such is the politics of a people whose vote cannot be forced or ridiculed. Law is religion, and the religion of free examination produces the religion of the law. Loyalty plays a principal role here because loyalty in politics is as necessary and is as useful as honesty in commerce.

But in Catholic countries there is a real terror when the opposition party wins because it is believed that it is a defeat without hope. It is the enthronement of something infallible and incapable of committing a wrong, something that establishes itself with the inflexibility of vengeance. This is part of the reason why there are so many revolutions and so much apparent servility.

The previously mentioned philosopher, Bilbao, exclaimed bitterly that Spanish Americans were born under dictators, lived under them all their lives and are followed to their graves by them. It appears that there is no way for Spanish Americans to get away from them. Each time a new political formula is developed it turns out to be only a justification for a new dictatorship. It is claimed repeatedly that Catholicism denies liberal principles and institutions through the infallible word of councils of bishops, cardinals and popes. And the bitterness continues with the accusation that progress has consisted of using the same arms, of occupying position, of accepting the language and terminology of liberty and of using the suffrage, the press, education and the schools to the discredit of suffrage, and of educating slaves for the Church and not citizens for the state.

Thus we see repeatedly that the Spanish heritage is manifest in many forms. The legendary dragon's teeth sowed in a fertile soil were producing an abundant crop. Those teeth were the caste spirit, the spirit of domination and privileges; the monarchical ideal which hides but shines in the deepest recesses of the mind, the habit of exploitation (of persons, the law, the municipality, the state or the nation) that will not, repeat, will not relinquish its old power. Everything remains the same; there is actually no freedom whatsoever. The servile hand continues in servitude, in misery and in abjection. The same instruments of oppression continue to deny freedom, to prevent progress and to discourage thinking and the practical application of knowledge.

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Chapter IV

The Personality Heritage

Historical Development

Psychology has taught us that while the individual has native ability, talents and aptitudes, he also is endowed with the ability to adjust to his environment. He not only has this ability but inevitably and inexorably makes an adjustment to the factors peculiar, first to his immediate surroundings and secondly to the larger social ambient in ever-widening circles. The wider the circles the less reinforcement there is for the ever-weaker pressures brought to bear by the more distant forces on the molding process that operates on character. Nevertheless, character and personality are shaped by these factors. Since this is true of the individual it must also be applicable to the larger social group which is composed of individuals. In other words, it is the individual characteristics and personality traits which, along with the language, give a tribe, a nation or a society its distinguishing character.

The cultural characteristics of any people are not a haphazard, random collection of elements unrelated to each other or the environmental situation in which that people finds itself. They are rather a closely knit, interrelated and interdependent set of traits that have been developed, not by the application of any predetermined logical scheme, but through the slow, unplanned series of accretions resulting from trial and error attempts of the group to find ways of adjusting to its environment. The principal function of culture is a purely utilitarian one, to enable the group to survive. Each trait has — or once had, since some traits tend to persist long after changing circumstances have made them unnecessary — some relationship to other traits and some relevance for the environment in which the particular group happens to live. Culture has its locus in the personalities of people, and personality is built up by successive layers of experience. New layers may be added; old ones cannot be taken away, although they may be greatly compressed. When people move their culture goes with them. And if one wishes to know the "why" of their behavior, he must look to the old environment as well as to the new.

But the individual is born into the society which molds and impresses upon him its characteristic genius or hall mark. And the society in turn has been influenced and caused to develop along certain lines by extraneous factors. The Eskimo has developed a society that has learned to cope and live with sub-zero temperatures, ice and snow. Arab society has been deeply influenced by the desert, and tropical peoples have developed societies suitable to their climate and geography.

With this introduction, the question proposed here is how has Spanish society and individual character been influenced by environment and what personal traits peculiar to them have developed as a consequence. The history or development of such traits, if set forth clearly, may facilitate friendship and improve inter-American relationships inasmuch as Spanish America received its cultural heritage from Spain while the Anglo heritage is English. Therefore, to accomplish our purpose, it will be necessary to go back once more to the early history of Spain which is largely responsible for present-day Spanish American character.

The conquest of the Iberian Peninsula by the Moors in 711 was not a mere matter of dates, names and battles. In fact, it had an unusual aspect in that many of the inhabitants (they cannot yet be called Spaniards) were driven northward up the peninsula and were concentrated in a much smaller area than they had been accustomed to. It was probably this concentration and the greater sense of numbers that gave them the courage to strike back. The result was the battle of Covadonga in 718 which is said by most historians to be the beginning of the reconquest that ended with the expulsion of the Moors from Granada in Southern Spain in 1492. It is the period between 718 and 1474, the date of the marriage of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, that saw both the formation of the Spanish character and the development of the first unification of the Spanish kingdom. The two developed simultaneously, but the concern here is for the development of personality making use of the historical background that was presented in Chapter I.

It may be, as some authorities state, that the battle of Covadonga was merely a skirmish with the Moors and of no particular significance to Pelayo and his followers. History at least calls it the turning point in the fortunes of those who were to become the Spaniards. It may also have given them the necessary boost in morale, the unification in spirit and the courage to begin the campaign that eventually liberated the peninsula. As a matter of historical fact, however, it was the beginning of nearly 800 years of a kind of life that could do no less than have a decisive influence on the formation of personality. What makes it so utterly decisive is the fact that religion is the bone of contention, the all prevading factor, and is itself magnified by becoming the *raison d'etre* of both life and the reconquest; the single unifying and eventual nationalizing element of the inhabitants.

The hordes who invaded the Iberian Peninsula in 711 comprised two ethnic groups, the Arabs and the Berbers, both commonly referred to as the one group called the Moors, who were of the Mohammedan or Muslim religion. The original purpose of the conquest was to impose their faith upon the infidel inhabitants. The Goths, it will be recalled, had embraced the Christian religion for the purpose of unifying the peninsula. But these Christians had persecuted the Jews until they were ready to aid and abet the Moorish invasion. The following eight centuries consist of alternating periods of peace and tranquility. There were times when Moor, Jew and Christian lived peacefully side by side and did business with each other followed by other periods of warfare of varying duration and intensity. The greater number and longer lasting periods of peaceful co-existence were the influential times when each group could examine the ways of life of the others, see their examples, their accomplishments, decide what they liked and would imitate, what they disliked or even hated and yet were influenced by it and in other ways were stimulated, goaded and even molded. Since the Mohammedans or Moors and the Jews were eventually expelled from the Iberian Peninsula, attention may be concentrated upon the Christians who slowly but surely, over the centuries, became the Spaniards and in the end ruled over Spain and vast regions of a whole New World. Since they lived side by side most of the time and fought each other at other times for so many generations over the centuries it would be surprising indeed if personality as well as culture had not been inexorably influenced. A study of the interractions of the three groups and of the influence of two upon the Christians should be informative.

Credit for much of what follows in this chapter is due to my old friend and teacher, Dr. Américo Castro and his excellent and most penetrating study, *La realidad histórica de España (The Historical Reality of Spain)*.

The Moorish invasion with religious motives gave the Christians a religious motive also for fighting back in addition to the natural desire to reconquer and reoccupy the land from which they had been driven. The religious basis thus gave the warfare a much more tenacious and fanatical spirit. The long periods of peace and tranquility broken only by occasional raids of one side upon the other such as are recorded in the *Poema de Mío Cid* were probably more formative than the warfare.

A people or a society is consolidated or constituted as it differentiates or distinguishes itself from others. This, in turn, is brought about by the internal or psychological forces interacting with the external and material forces to produce the stance that man assumes in the existing circumstances. This is graphically exemplified in the development of Spanish personality up to the discovery of the New World.

Spanish character was the outcome of the will and the efforts of certain inhabitants of the peninsula who were interested in making of themselves a distinct social and political group while keeping in mind a future dependent upon accomplishing a common duty. The sense of duty in the beginning caused peninsular life to be reconstituted, after the Mohammedan invasion, on the basis of a system of castes. Caste was determined by religion, that is, whether one was Moorish, Jewish or Christian. That this is true within 170 years of the Moorish conquest is indicated by the fact that the Goths were remembered, but those who fought against the Mohammedans were referred to as Christians. By this time, then, as Castro indicates, the religious affiliation served to delimit and identify the national figure of a people: they were Christians, not Goths or Iberians. Faith in Christ was as efficient in nationalizing a people as was faith in Mohammed which had been the animating force of those who had conquered almost all of the peninsula with such notable success that it thoroughly impressed the Iberians. This faith "nationalized" the Christians as effectively as Mohammedanism did the Moors. Thus a basic dichotomy was established between the Mohammedans and the lands they ruled on the one hand and the recently founded Christian kingdoms on the other which resulted in causing the national or political concept to coincide with the religious belief. Faith and patriotism were, in a sense, synonymous. Thus it was inevitable that there should be war between the Moors and the Christians until the latter had completely regained the lands that had been forcefully taken from them. This gave birth to the complicated system of fighting and coexistence with each other. It is complicated because those who lived side by side circumscribed their collective existence within the sphere of their faith, their caste. Rather than being citizens of the kingdom of León, Castilla or Aragón, they first considered themselves Christians. Each of these groups had arisen and become characterized by circumstances unrelated to peninsular life prior to 711. Their social conditions had grown out of motives that transcended political circumstances for they were dependent above all on a spiritual lineage and then became associated with a certain type of occupation and ambition.

Thus there was no variety of roles and groups of related roles which would provide for an institutionally diversified, large-scale system that would allow for the effective functioning of a basic personality with an over-all social structure. This is the essence of individual participation in a globally defined social system. It in turn would have permitted an organization in which an elaborate division of labor would permit a surprising degree of participation in major social roles whose principal requirement is formal adherence to impersonal rules and routine performance of mechanical tasks. Provision would thus have been made for the necessary extensive, or at least intensive, involvement of the deeper elements of personality. None of this was open to the (Spanish) Christian since he was forced by circumstances to take his stand on his religion, his faith and had no other unifying force. Hence the development of castes.

The word *caste*, born in Spain, was not imbued with the Hindu significance. As translated by Antonio de Nebrija it meant "good lineage." It is defined elsewhere in the XVIIth century as noble lineage and family antecedents. These would be enhanced if they were Gothic, a term which referred to those who were considered to be the first Christians. This "caste" idea was not exclusively Spanish or Christian since the same attitudes were held among the Hebrew Spaniards. The basis of the whole system is to be found in the structure of Spanish life interwoven with the three castes or peoples, each eager to maintain and improve its standing as such, as differentiated from the other two. The insistence upon maintaining the purity of the lineage or the caste is referred to repeatedly in the literary works of the times by Jew and Christian alike. The consciousness of a caste founded on a religious faith was built up for future Spanish life during the centuries of struggle to recover the land from the Arabs, the Syrians and the Berbers. In a caste system the place of the individual is much more clearly defined by his place in the caste than it is by his own family, whether large or small. Nor does one need to go to India to find this situation. The same sort of thing, to a much smaller degree, can be seen here and there in the south of the United States where family name carries a very real "security load." It is at least possible for an individual to build up a belongingness device which transcends the confines of the immediate family.

Living somewhat as an intermediary between the Moors and the Christians, the Jew presented an "occidental" aspect which the Mohammedan lacked. Quick in languages, a hard worker, a wanderer and always clever, he meshed with the Christian way of life much better than the Moor. His special trades and occupations, because they were practiced by him, became inaccessible to or disdained by the Christian and converted him into a caste since his different faith prevented him from gradually mingling with them. They formed, then, different castes, not classes. The tolerance of the middle centuries and the three incompatible credos living side by side worked to prevent the rise of the graduated regime of European feudalism and its classes of laborers, artesans, nobles and religious or clergy. Consequently, the Hispano-Christian, without other resource than his faith, saw that he could not extract from the Christian community or caste all that was necessary for his subsistence; therefore, he had to accept as inevitable reality the diverse occupational superiorities of Mohammedans and Jews.

The acceptance of the occasional superiority of the infidel, their neighbors, did not deprive the Christians of their consciousness of being lord of the land. But the Christian believed himself superior by reason of being in possession of a better faith on one hand, and of doing what the villainous Moor neither knew nor could do on the other.

Also, the Moor did things, and so did the Jew, that no good Christian would do. Social class establishes its rank, above all, on its power and the volume of its wealth; caste makes it depend upon the mere existence of the person. In the end all the Hispano-Christians concluded by feeling that they were a superior caste, by reason of Christian lineage, over the Moor and the Jew. This preoccupation with "pure blood" which worried the Christian Spaniards from the XVth. century on rests upon antecedents existing long before the installation of the tribunal of the Holy Office — the Inquisition. In this case the Hispano-Christian imitated a system of individual and collective evaluation very appropriate to the Hispano-Hebrew who was as feared and hated as he was admired and imitated. This phenomenon is of the greatest importance as a symptom of the functioning of Spanish life, especially in proportion as the XVth century advanced — leading up to the discovery and colonization of the New World: The more they persecuted the Hispano-Hebrew the more the Christians believed in the Semitic system of purity of lineage.

It is well known that primitive people often assign magic and spiritual value to blood. But the Hebrews had an exalted sense of the community of their "spiritual" blood which is based on the Bible (*Deuteronomy* vii:6 and *Exodus* xv:17). This is the basis or at least expresses the feeling of existing as a holy and closed caste. After the end of the XVth century, if the Spaniards considered it nefarious to mix with the Hispano-Hebrew and the Hispano-Moor it indicated that they had completely assimilated the Hebrew belief which was the basis on which the Jews had maintained themselves as a caste apart.

Some Germanic peoples have created for themselves an exemplary and corporal image of the perfect individual of their race. The physical and biological nature of the nation present in western mythologies functioned within German life in a manner neither known nor understood by the Spaniard. There is no physical type of a racial "Spanish man." As Castro indicates, purity of blood was identified with the consciousness of caste. Even the rustic or the person of low class can aspire to *be more*, not to *do* but to *be*. The most humble countryman felt himself to be a part of the master caste because he had *pure blood* by being a farmer. (The Goths refused to live in the cities and lived on their country estates instead.)

The Christian became accustomed to not knowing nature or the management of things because this was not required for the great task of conquering the land and organizing his state, his all-consuming ambition. The rest, i.e., professions, trades and occupations, was the province of the religious organizations, the French immigrants, the Genoese who built galleys, the Moors who built churches and fortresses, the Jews who knew trades and how to cure illnesses, to save money and to acquire things needed by kings, lords, clergymen and "good men" of the cities. The importance later of precious metals from America was not due to the predominance of an economic doctrine; it was merely the XVIth century aspect of the need to obtain by indirect means everything needed for their subsistence from the plows to the most precious textiles.

Peace was never productive for the Hispano-Christian for at home he felt that he had nothing to do and his drive made him throw the entire kingdom into an uproar. The ruling caste believed it could live alone clinging to its faith and its feeling of being superior; at the same time it could not but realize the irremediable vacuum in which it was submerged when it tried to move out of the personal shell. Before the XVIth century no European country had produced such a profusion of heroes and leaders; they overcame the greatest natural obstacles and won against tremendously disproportionate odds: Vasco de Gama, de Soto, the Duke of Alburquerque, Cortés, Pizarro, Balboa, Magdalena, Elcano, Cabeza de Vaca, etc. They and many clergymen equally endowed with titanic energy and illumined by their faith burned themselves up completely as in a sacrifice to that strange deity — the integration of the individual. Vis-a-vis the Greek principle that reality "is what it is" the Spaniard maintained that it was what he felt, believed and imagined. Reality was simply a play of propitious or adverse enchanters.

The Spaniard was valorous and noble; his country was wealthy, but he did nothing that required planned effort. Impetuous valor and confident faith are not to be bound by limits and frontiers for they seek the infinite in space and time; precisely the opposite of the reasoning mind which measures, limits and concludes. By the middle of the XVth century the Spaniard felt sure of his valor and his wants, and he aspired to nothing short of an infinite power, a dominion over all things. This imperialism, limited by its faith, was incapable of changing the natural world in which it found itself and which it wanted to dominate. All it wanted was a leader at whose command it would throw itself into the attack. This will, or drive, anxious for a leader who will command and guide, is the basis for a Messianic expectation or hope which was satisfied once temporarily by the catholic monarchs, Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, but has never actually been sated — it still pants for satisfaction, even in Spanish America.

By the middle of the XVth century Spain had acquired the traits and character that were to remain for centuries. Symptoms of this were the superabundance of employees at court next to the nobles and in the Church. The necessity of representing a social role inherent in the Spanish condition, caused the lords and nobles to surround themselves with a multitude of servants and hangers-on. The Spanish *caballero* of the Christian caste had a compulsion to be in suspense, as it were, over the face of the earth from which he drew his sustenance while he disdained it and at the same time looked heavenward as the source of everything upon which he depended. Hence the dis-

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dain for activities of a mechanical or commercial nature including any intellectual activities cultivated by the other castes. Commerce was thought of, and in too many cases consisted of, dealings with other castes, other sections or regions of the country and other countries. For these reasons a dim view was taken by the Christian caste of trade, considering that it uproots man from his own land, disintegrating him and taking him away from nature and making him commit fraud. From this mentality there sprang later the dreams of the Golden Age, the contempt for court, and the pastoral songs of rustic life, and Don Quijote's horror of firearms. Those who do not derive all of their sustenance from the land on which they live are the ones who in the end fail to be themselves, they disintegrate. It is a consequence of this attitude that the Spanish American does not know his own country as well as he does Spain or France.

Later. in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, country life became a theme of primary importance in literature and was dramatized, first by Juan del Encina, notably by the great Spanish dramatist Lope de Vega, and by many others. The farmer was held to be the foundation or base of the dominant caste, the cultivator of a magic soil which was an eternal and abundant giver of fruits and rich wines just as the heavens granted grace thanks to the cultivators of the invisible divinity — the clergymen. As far back as the Middle Ages, the Castilian of the Christian caste disdained mechanized labor because it was rational and without mystery, without a background or basis in transcendental eternity, for him it was either heaven or earth. The importance of the farmer and of everything rustic in the life and the letters of Spain corresponded to the equally invading presence of the clerical. Earth and heaven resolved their opposition in a unity of faith.

Obviously then, the important aspect of Spanish character is what the individual felt himself to be and what he has achieved because those accomplishments are inseparable from his misfortunes and his failures. Rebellious against law and any state regulation, the Spaniard was docile to the voice of his faith and the imperative of his absolute person. In his insistence upon subsisting and of *being more* and not on the basis of ideas or economic ambitions, he made himself what he is. He shut himself within his own person and from it obtained the daring and the faith to erect a strange and immense colonial empire that lasted from 1500 to 1826. He preserved his XIIIth century language almost without change and with it forged artistic creations endowed with permanent validity and vitality. His genius often created literary gems that he had not the patience to finish. Frequently the French took over and polished the Spanish gem making a French masterpiece an example of which is *Le Cid* by Corneille, and there are others.

The Spaniards did not allow themselves to be unified by reason, knowledge or law, nor by a network of economic relationships, but rather through beliefs or a faith which penetrated and motivated them. No other great civilization has happened to live century after century feeling the lack of earth under its feet while at the same time creating values of such first class. This people, on more than one occasion, has marched to its own ruin as to a Bachanalian orgy.

The consciousness of being Spanish and of acting as such begins to make itself felt between the Xth and XIth centuries for to be Spanish and to be an inhabitant of the Iberian Peninsula are not the same. His struggle for existence in his faith vis-a-vis the Mohammedans, the Jews and the Protestants or unbelievers began to set him apart, not only from these but also from other nations. The alternative for the Spaniard is and has been either faith or non-existence. The truth of this will be realized, after a little thought, paraphrasing Castro again, by those who are familiar with Spain, Mexico or any other Spanish American country. This faith embraces and is the sum total of the vital horizon of the person: one believes in the king, in the caste, in honor, in tradition, in an imported idealogy, in a Messianic revolution, in the importance of one's own person, in a sometimes empty nationalism, etc. And tradition is most important, especially the historical aspect. This was exemplified by a candidate for a United Nations scholarship. The teacher of electrical engineering could not work the problems in electrical resistence on the qualifying examination but cheerfully volunteered to recite the historical glories of his country.

The personalism of the Christian caste had developed to a high-pitched and imperial grandeur in socially paralyzed surroundings of scanty well-being. The ways to subsistence without oppressing burdens were blocked for those who were not lordly landowners or ecclesiastics. The church came to possess nearly half of the arable soil of Spain. Beside these economically powerful classes the rest of the victorious caste of "old Christians" was in anguish. The idle hidalgo, as presumptuous as he was lacking in means, is a well-known literary character of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. That the type had developed into a literary theme is itself proof that the condition had a history. The literary example par excellence, is of course, the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes*, one of the outstanding masterpieces of Spanish literature, supposed to have been written in 1554 and just recently filmed. In it Chapter III presents the description of the archetype of the Spanish *caballero*. And books were written before and after this date for the education and upbringing of princes and gentlemen. At the same time the lack of resources created the *pícaro* or rogue and the corresponding literature.

After the time of the *Cid* or thereabouts the Christians began to acquire their feeling of superiority vis-a-vis the Moor and this gave rise to the feeling of being God's preferred caste. This feeling gradually possessed them and convinced them that only war and the exercise of authority were to be esteemed. This in turn resulted in a caste of people who based their manner of life on the impossibility of working at chores held to be dishonorable. This has a peculiarly Spanish sense for it implies an exalted evaluation of that which was not mechanical work, in other words, the substantial worth of the individual.

This worth or value was not only spirit, valor or vigor preached as personal qualities, but the substance, that which made it integral and gave it completeness, which made the man all of a piece — very hispanic concepts. The Spaniard was the only example, in western history, of a purpose of life founded on the idea that the only worthy occupation of a man was to be a man and nothing more. This gave rise to the once prevalent idea in Spanish America that the individual should be treated as if he were that which he aspired to be regardless of whether he was entitled to it. When he found himself in the New World without Moors or Jews to serve him he turned to the aborigines. The forced labor of the Indian extracted the agricultural or mineral wealth of the land, as the Moors had in Spain, and thus once more supported the superior caste. When the aborigines and the slaves were no longer available there was no one to depend on until the foreigner came in unless the mestizo was able to bridge the gap.

Religious Aspects

Although the basis of the Spaniard's existence is his faith, which has been the primary subject of this chapter so far, yet little has been said to describe or characterize that faith or religion. It has been said that the Spaniard of the Christian caste had a personalized faith, not a standard or guide for conduct. In no other catholic country has religion displaced more social volume than in Spain and in the Hispanic-Portuguese nations. Neither has there ever been anything equal to it in extent or force. This does not mean that most Spaniards and Spanish Americans think that they have to live according to Christian standards. It may have lost some of its literary and didactic prestige, nevertheless, it is still the religion of the Spaniard, the Portuguese and the Spanish American. This is true to the extent so well demonstrated by the bloody civil wars in Mexico and Spain over the relationship between Church and State.

The Spanish religion is based on a catholicism very different from that of Rome or France, not to mention North America. It is a form of faith characteristic of Spain, intelligible only within the peculiar casticity of Spanish history. The Spanish religion — as its language, its institutions, its scarce capacity for objective science, its expressive overflow and integral personalism — can be understood only in light of the 800 years of interrelationships among Christians, Mohammedans and Jews. From the Romans they had inherited a formalism which did not suit their temperament and a tradition of local self-management through the municipal spirit of country towns.

The Moslem heritage was quite different for it was a community of believers all equal before the law, with a leader who was in theory a shepherd but in practice a despot. They were brethren, but proudly independent; they had municipal officers but no municipal spirit.

The Moslem community had a basis which was ethical and religious; a man's duty was not to the community but to his faith. Mutual help to a brother Moslem was a legal obligation, a religious duty; but it was given by one independent individual to his equal. In the view of John B. Trend, this very independence, however, led to a tendency to anarchy and an incapacity for organization and discipline. Furthermore, the dependence on a leader developed the Messianic attitude.

During the reconquest the Christians conquered through their battles, but they also were conquered unconsciously by the influence of the Mohammedan and the Jewish religions both of which were Messianic in faith, and because of their expectation they tended to withdraw from the world and expect everything from God. At the same time Islam values highly all that exists beginning with man because he is the work of God. This led to the valuing of man for the sake of what God had already put into him which is a far cry from the value conferred by the rationalists on man as a being who is capable, by means of the effort of his mind, of penetrating the essence of the universe — a secret guarded by God. In other words, then, to expect everything from divine mercy because one feels himself to be the "son of God" and to intensely evaluate oneself are thoroughly Spanish traits which found much nourishment and stimulus in the contacts with the Moors and the Jews. Messianism and self-esteem could be universal, but when they are exaggerated as a manner of conduct and not sufficiently offset by other traits to neutralize them it becomes legitimate to set them forth as specific characteristics. Hence, Spaniards and Spain rest upon a divine foundation and the history of Spain is a "divine" history. From the IXth to the XVIIth centuries the center of Hispano-Christian life, in its affirmative, original and grandiose aspects was an unworldly faith which arose in heroic response to other enemy faiths.

Any important innovation not based on the purpose of broadening the imperative dimension of the individual and of expressing what he is and feels could only have been originated outside the Christian caste although the will to adopt such changes always came from within it. It follows then that at will the Spaniard may lose and discipline himself when he enters the community created by faith in God or in the power of another person. On the other hand he may individualize himself when he carries out highly esteemed actions and creations which lend him an individual personality as rich in qualities as that of any other European. There have been plenty of examples of this all the way from the hero of the great epic poem *El Cid* down to the great works of the XXth century. Unamuno, the Spanish philosopher referred to previously, pointed out one great extreme of the contrast in Spanish character when he wrote, in *El individualismo español*, "What cannot be understood is that a person without talking, nor writing, nor painting, nor sculpturing, nor playing music, nor negotiating business, *nor doing anything*, expects that for the single act of being present he will be accepted as being a man of extraordinary merit and of outstanding talent. And, nevertheless, no few examples of this curious occurence are known here in Spain — I do not know whether there are any outside."

This characteristic has been observed by others and it cannot, in fact, be understood by seeking a logical motivation for the absurdity of arrogating to oneself entirely non-extant merits. Nor does it suffice to recognize in it an abstract psychological principle. The truth is that there still exists in many Spaniards the spectacular visage of yesteryear's triumphant caste now without real connections. At times the Spaniard has preserved interior and exterior ways appropriate to the time in which he felt himself a member of an imperial caste, conscious of his innate worth and of the virtue operating in his mere presence. This is no longer understood in a technical world with which the Spaniard was always out of tune. It cannot be forgotten that he began to be conscious of the imperial power of his people long before the discovery of America. Without realizing it, the Spaniard, firm in his conviction of belonging to a better caste, (great lord or ragamuffin, obtuse or intelligent) continued to cultivate in his soul the hollowness of a vanished empire, the dream that the person, by the simple fact of existing, is already everything. The individual is and can do everything and has no need of anything but himself. This strange and sometimes splendid manner of existing, based on the "divine right of the caste" can be described as "personal absolutism." "I am the one who rules in my hunger," replied a very poverty-stricken Spaniard to whom money had been offered in exchange for voting for a congressman not to his liking. And this personal absolutism (or separatism) can be seen today in the philosophical dignity of the Spanish American *campesino;* its arrogance can be felt and seen in the university student and his lordly manner of driving a new sports model car, in his bearing, his mein and his conduct. It has been called *machismo* which by itself is perhaps acceptable. When immoral implications are attributed to it, it is not acceptable.

Practical Aspects

The writings of the time criticize unmercifully any and all who engage in the lowly business of commerce. To work to earn money and to save it are made to appear a serious guilt because at that time the Christian did not know how to do it as efficiently as the Moor. Before Spain became a vast empire all this was done by the Moors and the

Jews to serve the Christian who did not force them to change their religion, their language or their customs. Regardless of who was to blame there came a time, however, when the "Old Christian" (not the recently converted Moor) adopted the Semitic tradition of fusing the State with a religious faith. At this point terrestial matters had to be subordinated to those of the faith, and in that of the Spanish Catholic there was no room for the sanctification of productive labor as practiced by the other (conquered) castes. Religion had become consubstantial with the State and they affirmed themselves in it who had extended the power of the king over many regions of the New World and some of the Old. The Moors felt that they were as much Spaniards as the Christians and founded their consciousness of a nation on a glorious past. Their virtues of work and the wealth they stood for were sacrificed by the Spanish Monarchy to whom wealth and well-being were as naught before the national honor founded upon religious unity and the unquestionable seigniory of the stately power. Just as he had in 1100, the Moor continued to work and to create wealth at the beginning of the XVIIth century, and the Christian continued to lord it over him very conscious of his personal superiority.

In *The Latin American Mind*, Zea suggests that man progresses and moves ahead because he perfects himself in relation to his fellow men. Therefore, to perfect oneself is to become superior in intelligence and in character to other men and other nations. In this concept we find the biological formula for progress, i.e., to progress is to become specialized. A corresponding formula for progress may be stated as to progress is to become an aristocrat, i.e., to perfect oneself with reference to other men and other nations in order to establish on a real superiority the principle of rule, of power and of inequality, which constitutes the invariable substance of every practical and effective right. This harmonizes more than Zea realized with the will or purpose of the caste, i.e., of being and of being more.

From this situation it was but a step to the development, among other things, of a bureaucracy which is one of the evils of Spanish America making it impossible to progress or attain a civic and natural sense of responsibility. The universal and intense desire to attain public positions prevents youth from embracing careers in industry and commerce. Bureaucracy competes with and overwhelms all other industries. This is but one expression of the aversion to work inherited from Spain while at the same time it embodies the attitude of looking upward for all things.

As a result of race and birth, there is a disdian for work, a love for the acquisition of money without any personal effort, a fondness for pleasant idleness, a taste for fiestas, and a tendency toward extravagance. There is, therefore, an ignorance of industrial and commercial professions, and a fondness for literature, rhetoric and poetry.

All that there was of banking and commerce was in the hands of foreigners.

The masses continue to be impoverished, not by objective reality governed by the play of actions and human interests, but by *a static and immutable faith.* Spanish capitalists preferred to put their money in open accounts or invest in state bonds instead of risking it in industrial enterprise. The large industries, the richest mines and many railroads belonged to foreign enterprises. As late as 1935 there were 17,000 foreign technicians in Spain, all because of the quietist apathy, faith and no cognitive attack upon reality. It is all summed up popularly in the Moorish expression adopted by the Spanish long centuries since: *Si Dios quiere,* if God wills it. They live like the character in Dickens' novel, *David Copperfield.* Mr. McCawber is "momentarily expecting something to turn up." And like him, they do not believe in the story of the grasshopper and the ant. They depend upon the earth and when its products become difficult to obtain they have recourse to foreign capital and technicians. For these reasons, large industry, mines, the petroleum industry and others in Hispanic countries too frequently need the help of foreign technicians. They also frequently live on the magic munificence of the State or the Church without being overly concerned with their own efficiency. They float within a faith in the providence of the State as in the peculiar religious faith previously set forth. In either case, the person turns inward, closes itself in, in its faith and in its hope.

A way of life so structured has to defend itself, tooth and toenail, and must oppose all attempts to create forms of state founded on neuter reasons and tending to make possible a socially livable existence for all Spaniards. Hispanic states are undermined by inefficiency and immorality, and they have never been susceptible to rule by civico-religious standards, objective and equal for all. Hispanic religion is a personalized faith and not a code or standard for personal conduct. It does not inspire personal or spiritual improvement nor service to humanity; neither is it concerned with personal comforts — excepting conspicuous consumption — nor the improvement of physical nature. Like the Buddist who burns himself, Hispanic man is capable of killing others or himself in defense of "his" religion, of that world of his which his will, his dream and his whim rule. The embodiment of this state is to be found in the gigantic character of the world's outstandng novel, *Don Quijote.* He would feel lost in a world really ruled by law which he believed he could not bend to his will. Castro believes that to prevent such a world from arising the Spaniard is capable of committing the most horrible crimes and cruelties, incompatible with the most elemental Christianity. So it was that, as explained previously, the inhabitants of the Spanish Empire were not unified by intellectual or economic interests but by bundles of ascending lines that converged upon a belief or faith — on a leader or king, on artistic grandeur and beauty, on God. The importance of leadership — and followership — has already been seen; that of "grandeur and beauty" will be developed later. Neither in Spain nor in Spanish America were the different regions interrelated in a network of complementary and contributory tasks such as manufacturing, sales and distribution. Accordingly, it is historically normal that there be separatism in Spain and in Spanish America. It may be alleged that times have changed and therefore so have the Spanish Americans. The industrial revolution, the trains, steamships, radio and television, airplanes, automobiles, deputies, senators, jet planes, vitamins, penincillin, in short material inventions, comforts, progress, all have made no change in personality. They are all imported just as were the beads, thread, needles, mirrors, inkwells, whistles and dolls, and a thousand other gewgaws in the XVIIth century. The situation in preceding centuries had been essentially the same, the difference being that the Moors and the Jews were the producers, then the Indians and slaves, and now the foreigner. The Christian then as now, lived each within his own little personal castle not even questioning the intrinsic value of his land and his person, and thus the internal posture of the Christian caste in form, as Dr. Castro says, is the same in the Xth century and in the XXth. In the earlier centuries any technical intellectual exercise or work were menial duties appropriate to the Jewish caste and therefore dishonorable.

Spain, at the moment when it had its greatest opportunity, disdained wealth when she could have created it rapidly for herself. She preferred to sacrafice it on the altar of her belief in the absolute value of the person, in a closed way of living or existing (not doing) that was incompatible with any other. When it is said that will is the primary dimension of the Spaniard's life, it is advisable to add that the action of the will acquires sense and reality as a force that sustains his faith in the absolute and *castizo* faith of the person, of that absolute which consists of being that way because one was already that way. The condition called *castizo* was not a temporary or accidental phase of Spanish life. It was the introverted manner of knowing that one exists that way, as a person of a faith, of a law, that is independent of the goods or wealth that may be possessed or of the actions and creations that may be accomplished. The consciousness of the personal being is dissolved into that of the society of which one is a part. The Spaniards no longer live this way and the consciousness of the dignity of the person is affirmed over and above whatever infamy the social group to which one may belong tries to impute to it; but the consequences of that constitutive manner of existing on the part of Christian Spaniards continue to exist in the collective subconsciousness, in the habits of judging, in the manner of existing and doing.

To understand the use of the word *castizo* it must be placed in proper historical perspective. It is used today without much connection with its origin. In 1895 Unamuno wrote in *En torno al casticismo*, that which is *castizo*, truly *castizo*, is of old Castilian stock. In short, that which is Castilian is *castizo*, that is, of noble descent, of good breeding, pure blooded *(limpia de sangre)*, and in language, pure or correct. The word *casta* (caste) came into western languages by way of the Portuguese who became familiar with the word in India although there was no such word, in the Indian sense, in Spain. From the meaning of vigorous, prolific animal, *castizo* came to designate a human excellence related to lineage or a good quality of something. Beginning in the seventeenth century, however, it began to be applied more widely, and much as the Anglo American English word *nice*, has come to mean so much that it means nothing.

In the early centuries, *limpieza de sangre*, pure blood or pure lineage, and *casta* or *castizo* were nearly synonymous. They existed as an intimate reality in the conscience of those who were Christians, Moors or Jews. To this must be added the fact that the most humble rustic or peasant, pure blooded or of pure lineage because he was a farmer, felt that he belonged to the seignorial caste.

The credit and the image of being everything *in toto* by the simple fact of knowing that one was an integral member of the select caste, was itself pleased by returning upon itself again and again. It expressed itself in punctillious formulas of courtesy, retreated into its innermost being and writhed in an incalculable ornamentation without reference to anything that was not the image of itself.

Even the religious belief seemed at times to subordinate itself to the primacy of the person, to its imperative will to maintain itself on high and above everything. This is not individualism which implies an interest in the existence around the "individualist" in a society capable of furnishing "individualizable" situations. What seduced the Spaniard was the opportunity to make his supremacy as a person count for everything of worth (separatism) and he demonstrated that he could do it in numerous and extraordinary cases. At times he even pretended imaginatively to appear as an antagonist of God, which is what Don Juan pretends to be in *El Burlador de Sevilla*. On the other hand, the Spaniard of Christian caste never took issue with a belief in God, the ideas he employed on such occasions were imported.

Experience has shown that in Spain the observance of corrective decrees and laws has been short lived because any private individual makes it a matter of honor to contravene them in the belief that it is a positive act of nobility to refuse to submit to laws. The Spaniard rebels at submitting to any standard without intention of imposing any other; he simply insists upon the separatism (not individualism) of his own person. It would be more correct, however, to speak of his distant withdrawal and of his lack of interest in the world around him reflected in the scarce participation of Hispanic peoples in the exploration of the cultures of other peoples including those who were conquered. There is also the insensibility to political and social conditions, the apathy which prevents the transformation of natural resources into wealth, and the use of public property as if it were personal; archaic and unchanging ways of life and the sudden adoption of foreign conveniences. The electric light, the typewriter and the fountain pen, the radio and television became popular much more rapidly in Spain than in France. (The most prized possession today in Spanish America is the imported automobile.)

The rebelliousness against law and order is illustrated by the self-analysis of the Spanish philosopher Unamuno quoted by Dr. Castro in his previously mentioned book. "Of all the tyrannies, the most hateful to me is that of ideas . . . on the other hand, I don't protest when some one says he is my superior; I wait quietly for him to prove it with facts; I expect and I want him to try to govern me and to step on me; and if he succeeds I thank him because he has proved that he is my superior and he has come to the aid of my inferiority." The Spaniard wants a justice founded on personal evaluative estimates (a judge, not a jury), not on firm and rationally deduced principles. Written laws are what the Spaniard fears and disdains most. The Spanish thinkers and philosophers, including Unamuno, were all enemies of organized authority, they believe in the inherent virtue of the individual simply because of the fact that he exists. The result is that the Spaniard feels united with other persons only when they serve as magnifiers of his own person and not because they represent ideas of universal validity. He has not been accustomed to accepting plans for collective life based on continuous effort and good sense. He has, however, wholeheartedly embraced those who have proposed utopian projects because, without questioning their feasibility, he has *believed* in them. He readily falls for magic changes in society, a new world empire or a complete reorganization of the education system, on paper.

The only social life in which he really believes and in which he participates is founded upon emotional coincidences without a solid basis of ideas or impersonal tasks. Hence the clusters of people whose unifying center is a *caudillo*, the local *cacique* or a common Messianic hope. On the other hand, Spaniards do not organize for the anonymous and cold labor of making city life more comfortable and productive. Instead, they appeal to the government. If an appeal were made to the inhabitants, who would inspire confidence? There is little in the State, none in the city.

Nowhere else in Europe was manual labor so stigmatized and it was not recognized as worthy even in the XVIII century after the invasion of foreign rationalist ideas which hardly touched the surface of Spanish life. When they came to America they brought along and established their way of life. In 1590 they complained of the poverty of Argentine soil for there was no gold or silver nor were there any cities as in Mexico and Peru. Disparaging commerce and technical work, they did not know what to do. According to Castro, they were reduced to such straits in this wealthy New World that *their own women and children* had to carry drinking water from the river. Spanish women of nobility and quality, because of their great poverty, have to *carry the water they are to drink*. To have harbored even the suspicion of a thought that the man might do it would have been too good for the firing squad. Nothing makes the history of Spanish America and its contrast with Anglo-America more intelligible. The Spanish Christian conquered the New World just as he conquered the Iberian Peninsula: to win honor and to maintain seigniory. As there were no Moors nor Jews to serve them in Buenos Aires and the Indians fled headlong across the Pampas, Argentina long remained in miserable conditions, even down to the middle of the XIX century. Then came Sarmiento, the Argentine President, educator, author and world traveler who eliminated the necessity of doing menial work with one's hands. He offered the same solution that had been proposed two centuries earlier for Spain, i.e., bring people in from abroad. Invite foreigners and grant them privileges for doing the work. In other words, here again is the same old trust and confidence that *one* will not have to work, that *others* will do it. This is convenient too, in that it furnishes a scapegoat for whatever goes wrong, and the dominant or superior caste goes ruling along.

Admitting immigrants may result in admitting some foreign isms so that Fascism, Communism, Socialism and constitutional rule are foreign inspirations and not compatible with the Spanish character. Anarchy, on the other hand, is an expression of the structure, the function and the condition of Spanish (separatist) social life. Political action polarized toward either the magic help of monarchy by divine right or toward the imperative center of the individual. Groups are formed about a *caudillo* who is capable of commanding obedience on the part of those who are dominated by an imperious look and voice, and who unconsciously find in him the Messianic leader. Thus, without other law than that of his personal force and skill, the *caudillo* organized parties, *pronunciamientos*, in Spain and revolutionary groups or barracks rebellions in Spanish America. He commands and makes himself obeyed by standing firmly on the "grace" projected upon his followers whom he fascinates and bewitches because of the centuries of allowing themselves to be carried away by virtue of the grace come from above and not by practical, horizontal conveniences continually visible and tested. The result is turmoil and chaos without coordinated aims. When each uprising is over the situation remains the same or worse as is so well known.

What was important was not the value of the objective to be accomplished, but the value of the autonomous and intimate process of its fashioning. Rarely was the Spaniard interested in a task in which the important part was an idea or a theory, a common utility, and not the role which he played. His material advantage was much less important to him than the fact of his personal intervention.

Modern Aspects

The student of present day Spanish American affairs may legitimately raise a question concerning the extent to which the personality heritage described in the preceding pages plays a role in affairs south of the border. An answer to this question could conceivably have a strong bearing on international relationships and perhaps point the way for some aspects of future development.

The Anglo tourist frequently, if not always, returns with a distorted view and assessment of Spanish America for he sets out from the start with preconceived notions of the stereotype. He invariably finds what he looks for, namely, the beggars, the street urchins, the poor class, the slums, the "picturesque" and occasionally may meet representatives of the middle class. This and the tropical setting or the grandiose Andean scenery constitute for the tourist the Spanish American scene. Customs and people are "quaint" or "picturesque" because they are different and the difference is substantiated by the oxcart, the tropical flora and fauna and the "foreigners" and their foreign language. The tourist has forgotten that he is now the foreigner. Unbeknownst to him he has missed the most representative class of people except for an occasional chance encounter. The middle class, however small and it often forms no more than twenty percent of the population, is the social group that lends whatever there may be in the way of political stability, economic enterprise (mostly its operation), cultural patronage and much of the professional responsibility of the country. Roughly, the upper third of this class may consist of whites while the lower two-thirds may consist of mestizos. This is the class that carries out the political and economic affairs of the nation whose policies and plans they have had little or no share in forming. This responsibility and privilege have been arrogated unto itself by the white upper class consisting, in the main, of less than ten percent of the population. Statistics of any kind, and especially these as pointed out previously, are always vague and uncertain regardless of their source. An example will demonstrate this.

It is often said that the affairs of Ecuador, a nation with a population of some three million, are all in the hands of about five percent of the people. These constitute some seventy families or about five hundred people. Obviously, the numbers involved here are determined by family relationships which cannot always be accurately delimited. But the figures do give a notion of the idea intended. Somewhat more accurate figures are presented by an Argentine writer.

A sociological study of the groups governing Argentina between 1936 and 1961 was undertaken by José Luis de Imaz as a researcher for the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research. The twenty-five year period covered begins at a time when, compared with the past leading up to this span, all sectors of Argentine society were "normal." Soon the Peronista regime would take over, reach its zenith, decline and conditions associated with the "normal" state of affairs would begin to return. Reporting on his study in a book titled *Los que mandan* (Those Who Govern) in 1964, Imaz describes the social standing and origin of the ranking government officials. In 1936 two-thirds of the highest ranking government officials were members of the *Círculo de Armas* and belonged to the "traditional" families. In the same year the only sons of immigrants were the Minister of War and two provincial governors. By 1946 Peronism has triumphed, was in full control and an entirely new group of men were managing national affairs. In 1961 Frondizi was president, Peronism had been dislodged and there were signs of a possible return to normalcy. Imaz divides the twenty-five-year span into five-year periods and devotes one or two chapters, for a total of twelve, to each sector of goverment and society during the entire span. For present purposes, the situation in 1936 represents the typical picture that existed generally throughout Spanish America. The twenty-five years immediately following represent the upheavals of an adjustment to changes taking place everywhere and whose results are not yet known. During this span many dictatorships were ousted in Spanish America and presidents, at least nominally, were elected, often superficially, by a "democratic process." Those who governed, however, as in Argentina until 1943, belonged to a restricted group in which origin, personal relationships, the family standing and the clubs one belonged to all operated as selective criteria. In principle, to reach the highest level the criteria of attributes obtained. Until 1943, in Argentina, there was no problem of electing members to the group simply because all of the governing personnel emerged from its own ranks on the highest social stratum. One belonged by the simple right of attributes [of belonging to the caste]. In any case choice would be limited to a small number of peers. There was a supplementary criterion of "recognition." When the disinterest of peers created holes or vacancies these were filled immediately by the recognition of certain personal qualifications, of certain virtues practiced by others.

The first "recognized" qualification, according to Imaz, for purposes of succeeding to the highest formal positions was business skill. This may be one of the reasons, to diverge for a moment, for Argentina's progress (in contrast with the rest of Spanish America) in business and industry while at the same time it may be the outgrowth of a highly immigrant population. Included in this same qualification is judicial capability which is a natural for the theoretical nature of the Spanish American. The other "recognized" qualification was the electoral success. But failure in office would cost the attributed right of "recognized" qualification. For the basic group, on the other hand, worth was attributed independently of success or failure in seeking it. If "recognition" triumphed the individual was raised to the highest dignity permitted, but he could not go beyond this. The presidency of the nation was reserved for those who were born members (of the caste). To be president required not only that one be a great politician, but one must also belong to the highest social stratum. In reality, then, we are dealing here with a governing class or, as Castro calls it, the ruling caste. This is one of the few closely knit, cohesive classes that the country has had. Here again, Imaz says that a socially cohesive group operated at the top and specific activities were delegated to those "recognized" for their capabilities. In the middle levels the "recognized" had *Carte Blanche* because of their electoral success. The entire mechanism was mounted on the two pillars of electoral fraud and the political neutrality of the Armed Forces. Cohesion was established by the endogroup so that it was not necessary to have recourse to the community of interests. There was a common, identical vision of the country, equivalent attitudes in the economic world and the exterior frames of references were the same. They were all admirers of everything French in the cultural world, of the British in the economic world and of everything German in the military world. Nearly seventy percent were lawyers so that they even had a common profession, and this too goes along with the nature of the Spanish American.

In his final chapter Imaz concludes that there is no ruling class — in 1961. But present purposes have been served by the information given above, from Chapter I, concerning the state of the nation in 1936. We now have somewhat of a picture of the typical ruling caste in Spanish America as represented by Argentina. Differences from this picture in other republics represent greater concentration of a smaller group, greater distances between classes and a poorer, perhaps more urbanized, lower class, and paradoxically, sometimes a more rural lower class. The more rural lower class is to be found in Guatemala, Colombia, Peru and Ecuador, that is, the countries with a large Indian population.

It should be noted in passing that there is a channel through which the middle class and the mestizo may work up. It is limited to a very few but it opens the door to higher office for those who can attain "recognized" qualifications. But those who succeed through this channel become as conservative and as adamant in maintaining the status quo as the upper class itself. One wonders why this change takes place, i.e., why is there no desire to help others succeed, too?

Psychological Aspects

Perhaps some light will be thrown on this question by another study, this time in Mexico. The third edition of *El mexicano: psicolo-*

gía de sus motivaciones (The Mexican: Psychology of His Motivations), was preceded by the publication of two other studies in Mexican psychology. Consequently, the author, Santiago Ramírez, has an established reputation as a student of Mexican psychology.

Ramírez, touches briefly upon the conquest of Mexico by Spaniards who in the main were *segundones* or second-born sons. This familial relationship left them no inheritance because of the custom of primogeniture, with the consequence that they saw in the conquest a "gentleman's" road to wealth and social aceptance — back home — something which fate had denied them. By means of the conquest the *segundón* would either win or lose an endless competition with an older brother. The cultural setting had taught the Spaniard that what destiny had not granted him he could obtain through adventure and great deeds. Acquired cultural patterns had given him, up to the moment, a sense of self-affirmation and sufficiency. For the Spaniard religion was emblem, justification and pretext for his covetousness. The wars of the Reconquest and the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula gave the Spaniard a Messianic sense of his destiny on the basis of which he justified his actions regardless of their nature. With a religious spirit he makes glories and heirarchies coincide. For this reason, to obtain fame and wealth were united in his mind with a powerful religious process.

As a consequence, two cultures confronted each other, one that looks inward and has found the reason for existence, and another which looks outward. For the one the measure of all things is man, for the other it is myth. Not for one moment was a conciliation possible to Spanish religious thought so that immediately upon his arrival he swept away all the external manifestations of the longing and the religious spirit of the native. Thus the latter had to renounce totally his ancient forms of expression but this at once became and remains a problem. An important result of the confrontation of the two cultures was the mingling of Spanish men and Indian women.

These unions became an intensely dramatic cross culturization in which the woman was bruskly and violently incorporated into a culture for which she had absolutely no background or preparation. Because she was forced to betray her own original culture the birth of her child was the expression of her separation from one world but not the open door to a different one.

The Spaniard's appraisal of the native woman was negative. He had his own values which grew with distance from Spain and the passage of time. The native woman, on the other hand, is devalued in porportion as she is slowly identified with what is native and all that the term included. The man becomes more highly esteemed in the measure in which he becomes identified with the conqueror, the ruler and the prevailing. This comparison of the masculine and the feminine, the active and the passive, in Mexico takes on outstanding aspects.

Woman is the object of violent and sadistic conquest and possession with a violent rending of her intimacy. The reaction of the Spanish father to the native woman was like that of the adolescent of today who satisfies his sexual needs and despises his victim. The majority of the mestizos were born under the stigma of paternal abandonment and desertion. The feeling of superiortiy over women as great lords yet forced to use their unconditional services has colored many of the structural aspects of Mexican matrimony. The mestizo slowly equated a series of categories: strength, masculinity, capacity for conquest, social predominance and alliance foreign to the soil, these are all loaded with a strong symbol of masculinity. Weakness, femininity, submission, social devaluation and a strong rooting in the earth become feminine and native traits. Here again the ruling caste rises above all others.

Once they had established themselves in the New World many Spaniards requested women from Spain. These "imported" women quickly turned to the native women to help in raising their children born in the New World (*criollos*). Thus the native women became the nurses of the children and were called *nana* which in the Otomi language means mother. This is to say that the criollo child also found himself in the presence of two infantile objects. On the one hand there was the highly valued woman who was distant, refined in a baroque way, busy with religious and civil affairs; and on the other, the native woman who provided warmth and who was culturally considered a mercenary object. In spite of this external mercenary aspect, she was the source of warmth, security and affection for the criollo child. This constitutes one of the contradictory conditions in which the Mexican criollo found himself. To summarize, there are two types of man, the criollo and the mestizo; men who are found in abundance in the midst of a conflict. For different reasons both find that the woman who has provided warmth and affection in infancy is a devalued being.

The father of the criollo develops a technique through which he makes up for his own childhood frustrations by being proud of his son and giving the child all that he himself missed. The Spanish father maintained a warm and cordial attitude toward his son which bespoke his desire that his son be like him and what he has made of himself. The criollo always had before him the picture of a strong father who urged him to defend and to identify himself with the privileges that had been attained. He not only insisted that his son be what he had been but that he also obtain the reward of nobility and of the good life. Mention has been made, by other writers and previously in these pages, of the exaggerated value placed on titles and other attributes of nobility. The need for a show of magnificence on the part of the second born Spanish son created a seignorial and ostentatious style of the city and its public gardens as any traveller in Spanish America will note. The imitation of Spain and France is overt and obvious. Everything is excessive, even, as Ramírez says, in fat or obesity.

From the foregoing, however brief, it seems clear that the Mexican, both the criollo and the mestizo, faces an acute conflict of multiple and complex identifications. He is the victim of contradictions which leave a part of his personality unsatisfied if not dissatisfied.

As indicated previously, there is a weakness for that which is imported, for the exotic and an inclination to imitate. In Argentina only those things are valued which have foreign trade marks. This is true in music, in painting and in the style of living. There is a strong feeling of a need to adapt if not adopt all that is European. Even obesity is a mechanism of expression, particularly of the criollo and is especially notable in Argentina according to Ramírez, but one wonders why he limited himself to that country omitting others, especially his own. To summarize, then, basically it may be said that the fundamental characteristic of criollo culture is the need to repair, to make up for past deficiencies or needs.

On the other hand, when a mestizo becomes "cross-culturized" and acquires forms of expression differing from the patterns from which he sprang, it may be said that he becomes criollo-ized and acquires the ideals and cultural standards of the adopted class. However, his manner of being with respect to the level of the class and culture from which he came is different since he tries to conceal and deny it. Anything that reminds him of his origin becomes a threat vis-a-vis the true criollo who is proud of the older forms or way of life. The mestizo is ashamed of his part and in his compulsive need to refine himself and show that he is different there is a latent anxiety or fear of being discovered. This may account for his aversion to all the past, for his hostility to the companions in the old culture; it may also account for his cruelty toward everything that makes him see himself projected and reflected. We are in the presence of the "cross-culture-ized" *cacique* or chief. His internal sense of insecurity within the newly adopted culture makes him servile and abject in that group. Everything belonging in this class is valued, everything belonging to the former class is ridiculed and denied. Mexican literature is full of those types, some picturesque and laughable, but more often tragic. This individual finds it necessary to make double reparation, not only for that which he lacked but also for the culture of his origin. For these reasons, this "new criollo" is more compulsive and more ostentatious than the real criollo. He despises the masterpiece of native art work or handicrafts and admires the assembly-line manufactured objects of his new social class.

The mestizo's father is a strong man whose culture and way of life prevail. The father sees in his son the product of sexual necessity rather than the means of satisfying the longing to perpetuate himself.

The father's participation in the home life is limited if not completely missing. He is seldom present and when he is it is to be served, admired and esteemed. His emotional contacts with the mother, as with the son, are minimal. More likely than not his presence is accompanied by violence in form or in manner. He is to be treated as a lord, as a Sir Nobody. He is entitled to every kind of consideration while he has no obligations to the surrounding environment. He frequently gets drunk and abandons the home without consideration for either the children or the mother. The latter accepts the father's treatment without complaint, resigned to the belief that her fate is to serve him and fill his needs. She often must shoulder the financial burdens of the home. If the father eventually binds himself to the wife or the children he does so more out of a sense of guilt than for love. The basic characteristic of the home thus established is an absent father with occasional reappearances.

The image of family relationships thus acquired by the mestizo child is peculiar. On one hand, the father has little contact with him and at the same time denies him the masculine identification to which he aspires. When the child tries to show hostility and a desire to identify with the father he is violently reproached under the magic pretense of a pretended principle of authority. The woman is required to be faithful while the lack of fidelity on the part of the husband is openly accepted. The latter frequently maintains two houses, one in which he keeps his few criollo children and an esteemed mother. Here the children are the product of love and of the need to perpetuate himself. In the other the woman has calmed his instinctive needs but he believes he has done her a service by possessing her. The children in this house, at best, are seen with feelings of guilt which he tries to eliminate through hostile expressions. The longing of the mestizo child to be as strong and great as his father parallels the repressed hostility toward him. As he grows up this mestizo finds no accomodation. If for "genetic" and economic reasons he remains in his mestizo position he will be the center of a permanent conflict. He does not belong to a native world in which, although subjugated, there were security and the possibility of obtaining primary identifications. Neither does he fit in a criollo world for which he has great aspirations. Internally he rebels against his Indian origin which has deprived him of the realization of his longings, and he is charged with manifest hostility toward the violent and foreign father. The first impulses and emotions of the mestizo child are developed in this psychological situation which may explode any moment.

As a man, he treats his wife in accordance with the pattern set by the father even though his wife may be as much of a mestizo as he is. He has acquired the standard of masculine superiority over woman. The indigenous and the feminine have unconsciously been equated. Granted that masculine symbols are substantially lacking, he will boast of them, a compulsive boast which will acquire the characteristics of *machismo*. At bottom Mexican *machismo* is nothing but the insecurity of male masculinity. He will run from all that is feminine or that aludes to the scarcity of paternal relationship.

The friends or the in-groups are always masculine, pastimes and games are strictly and ostentatiously male, and the female is excluded from the social and emotional world. Social life is predominantly masculine and contacts with women are only for the sake of affirming the superiority of the man. Tender sentiments are eschewed as being characteristic of femininity and affected. Thus there arises a peculiar type of character that can be followed down to the present and which has invaded to a large extent not only the mestizo but all social classes. The male spends his income or the largest share of it on maintaining his masculine position. He is most fond of those items of wearing apparel which are symbolic of the male: the hat, pistol, horse or automobile are luxury and his pride. This is a matter of external manifestations to which he has compulsive recourse for the purpose of affirming an internal image or fortress which in reality is lacking. He uses crude language as "the language of men," boasts of the women who have "submitted" to him like Don Juan in the famous Spanish Romantic play by the same name, and in all his conduct he will act in a way very similar to the insecure adolescent.

The symbol of what is so intensely desired is always in danger of becoming the victim of hostility. Everything which in one form or another represents the absent and imaginatively powerful masculinity of the father may become the object of agression. Whatever is *gachupin* (Spaniard who settles in Spanish America) or *gringo* (Anglo or Italian in Argentina) will at one and the same time be attacked, admired and longed for. It will be mocked and despised but internally there will be an attempt to attain it. When the mestizo tames and rides the horse of the conquistadores he is transformed into a magnificent horseman and when he uses his firearm he will be an expert marksman. At the same time he Mexicanizes everything that he uses or puts on. His food has a special taste, architecture and other means of expression show the double origin or orientation and the longing and the hostility. The mestizo reflects his past, his injustices, things and men, his destiny, his authorities, his family, etc.

As indicated above, both the mestizo and the criollo cross over into another culture of a different class and in the new social position they act according to their internal images. In the oppressed individual they see all the aggression to which they themselves had been subjected. They understand the hurt and the rage of the humiliated person and perceive it even before it is expressed. In these circumstances they attack with violence. If they happen to be chiefs their cruelty is greater than that of the one who has always been a chief precisely because they attack, in the servile, the humiliated individual they hold within themselves and are now trying to suppress by projecting it into the other. The Mexican may submit, humiliate himself or bow down to others but never give himself away, i.e., he will never let the outside world penetrate his intimacy. One who does is a traitor, not to be trusted or is a man of questionable trustworthiness who tells secrets and is incapable of properly facing risks or dangers. Women are inferior beings because when they submit they tell all. Their inferiority is constitutional and arises from their sex and their openness.

This Mexican can be led anywhere by simply playing on his sense of being a he-man. He is most aggressive in his relations with other men, is overtly educated and smooth and seeks the half-tone, the middle course, the happy mean. He is attentive and very polite, making almost excessive use of courteous terminology and diminutives even in his most aroused states of hostility. He will kill in the half-tone smoothly, and when he buries his knife in the victim he will say, "Please take good care of this little iron." The measure of implicit hostility in the father-son relationship is fully expressed in the insult, "I'm your father." Any other relationship, friend, brother or whatever, is not insulting, but to be someone's father is the quick cause of immediate fighting and discord, even death.

In the opening pages of his book, Ramírez warns the reader that he is dealing with only one side, the motivations, of Mexican character. He was not speaking idly for his analysis, as it procedes, penetrates ever deeper and becomes steadily less favorable. Some Mexican authorities disagree with him but his work has served the necessary purpose here. He has aided in the delimitation of one of the pieces of the jig-saw puzzle of Spanish America personality. In so doing he has contributed to a better understanding, therefore to better international relations in the Western Hemisphere. While a few authors disagree with him, Ramírez is corroborated by many others such as Ing. Casimiro Medrano Acuña and Dr. Angusto Pozo Pino, Professor of Psychology and Head of the Department of Industrial Relations at the Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores in Monterrey, Mexico. The former, a student in graduate school, wrote a paper under the supervision of the latter in which they both refer to and substantiate the thesis set forth by Ramírez. There are others who agree on this general point of view and are referred to by one or another of the authors just mentioned. In fact, they tend to a greater emphasis of the feelings of insecurity and the unlimited faith, the unswerving belief in God, Providence and the omnipresence of God.

This chapter may be closed with a summary of the attitude expressed by John Francis Brannon, S. J. Writing in the *Encyclopedia Americana,* he sets forth the idea that the Latin American's religious beliefs definitely tend to color his outlook on life. They make him much more akin to his medieval ancestors than might be expected. Like medieval man he is more intent on the spiritual than on the ma-

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terial things of life. Things which seem very important to the Anglo or the modern European do not always have the same value in the eyes of the Latin American. More fully than many modern men, he has preserved the fundamental Christian measure of all things: man's end is attained in the life to come, and everything in this life is but a means to that end and must be treated as such. The Latin American is not insensible to the importance of secular education or material standards of living, but by his system of norms there are other things of greater importance because they are of eternal value.

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Part II

The Foundations

Chapter V

Early New World Civilizations

The Beginnings

There is a startling similarity in the legends of the beginnings of many tribes whose folklore and oral traditions go back into the misty ages beyond recorded history. For example, the Mixtecs taught their children that "in the year and the day of the clouds, before there ever were years or days, the world lay in darkness. All things were orderless, and a water covered the slime and ooze that the earth then was." The Quichés of Guatemala are said by some to have left the richest mythological legacy of all the early American Indians. Their mythology is to be found in the *Popol* Vuh which might be called the national book of the Quichés and which, in its strange and rude eloquence and its poetic originality, is one of the rarest relics of aboriginal thought.

It consists of a series of mythological narrations written by the hand of the Indian under the influence of Europe between 1554 and 1558, about the time that *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the first Spanish picaresque novel, was written. The *Popol Vuh* gives a clear picture of many of the popular traditions, religious beliefs, migrations and the development of the indigenous tribes which lived in present-day Guatemala after the fall of the old Mayan Empire. The first chapter of this book shows great similarity to the book of Genesis in the Bible as will be seen from the following lines:

> Then came here the word and united together Tepeu and Gucumatz, in the darkness, in the night and they talked with each other, Tepeu and Gacumatz. They talked then, consulting each other and meditating; they came to an accord, they united their thought and their words. Then it was manifested brilliantly, as they meditated, that when the dawn came man should appear. Then they arranged the creation and the growth of trees and climbing plants, the birth of life and the creation of man. So it was arranged in the twilight and in the night by the heart of Heaven who is called Huracán.

The preceding paraphrase from Florit and Patt, *Retratos de hispanoamérica*, may be compared interestingly with the later definitive version of the *Popol Vuh* in Albertina Saravia E. *in Antiguas historias de los indios Quichés de Guatemala* which is illustrated with drawings copied from the Mayan Codices.

In the third part of the first chapter of the *Popol Vuh*, Tepeu and Gucumatz are called the Predecessors, Creators, Makers and the Great

Mother and the Great Father.

Some tribes held that the Sky, brooding over the fruitful Earth, became the father of men. Many others believed that two divine beings had been given the task of creating the human race: the deer-god and the deer-goddess, said the Mixtecs; Manco Capac and Mama Olla, said the Incas. In a similar vein and on the cold, clear heights of the Peruvian Andes, as Markham says, tthe greatest of the Incas poured out his soul in a religious plea:

Lord of all lords,
Mine eyes fail me
For longing to see thee;
For the sole desire to know thee.
Might I behold thee,
Might I know thee,
Might I consider thee,
Might I understand thee.

Whence came the people among whom such thoughts and prayers could arise? And when? How have we been so conceited, so egotistical as to call this hemisphere on which they reared their ancient civilization the "New World" as though nothing had ever happened here before 1492?

No one knows how long human beings have existed in North and South America. There is reason to believe that before the glaciers of the last North American Glacial Age had retreated even as far as the Great Lakes, man was here. Because of the astonishingly large number of flood myths found among scattered tribes, on both continents, it is not impossible that the most remote ancestors witnessed at least the final rushing torrents that must have followed when some inland sea broke its way through to the ocean. It would no doubt be pleasing to find some way to relate them to our own Biblical story of the Flood and the Ark.

Life on this hemisphere is not young. Fragmentary artifacts of its earliest inhabitants are similar to those fashioned by the men of the Old Stone Age in Western Europe, and even much earlier remains have been found.

The first groups probably came at intervals some 12,000 years ago, according to Mary Williams in *The People and Politics of Latin America*, and in some 2000 years may have reached the extreme southern end of the hemisphere. By the time Columbus arrived they had spread out over both continents and established their civilizations.

Maize, or Indian corn, was perhaps the first plant that they domesticated. They developed it from wild grass, perhaps as early as 4000 B.C. Through the centuries the natives gradually domesticated and cultivated many other plants for food, drink, clothing, and other purposes. Among these were: beans, squash, gourds, melons, peanuts, peppers, "Irish" and sweet potatoes, tomatoes, manioc (cassava and tapioca), cacao, quinoa, (a kind of buckwheat), guava, pineapple, avocado, tobacco, cotton, henequén and maguey or the century plant. Apparently potatoes, manioc, guava, quinoa and a few others were first cultivated in South America. Only the natives of Peru became drovers and herders, domesticating and developing two animals of great importance to them, the llama and the alpaca.

When the Spaniards first reached the New World most of its inhabitants were engaged in agriculture either as a primary or as a secondary means of obtaining their food supply. Three or four millions of them however, were still pure nomads roaming over immense regions in both North and South Amercia. They hunted, herded, fished, collected wild fruits, berries, roots, and grasses just as their ancestors had done thousands of years before. This was true of the Indians of Alaska and most of Canada, of the Pacific Coast and the Western Plains of the United States and of Southern South America. The natives of eastern North America, of the West Indies, and of northern and eastern South America engaged to some extent in agriculture, but are better known as food collectors, i.e., hunters, fishermen, berry pickers, etc. Elsewhere — largely in the mountains and plateaus from Arizona and New Mexico to northern Chile and northwestern Argentina — the American Indians depended mostly upon cultivated crops for their sustenance. These sedentary Indians composed the vast majority, although the areas they occupied were small compared with the spacious regions over which their nomadic kinsmen wandered.

Wherever agriculture was fully developed, the habits, religions, customs, and political organizations of the Indians were transformed. Their way of life, their culture, became complex. With more abundant food close at hand, population grew and became more sedentary, economic activities became more varied and specialization began to develop.

Villages became towns and cities. There were not only farmers and hunters but artesans, merchants, porters, rulers, administrators, professional soldiers, and more medicine men and priests. Metal-working, architecture, sculpture, mathematics, engineering, astronomy, and medical science developed. Records were kept, schools were established, at least for the upper classes, and leagues, confederacies and empires made their appearance, welding larger areas into political units. At least five civilizations, or near-civilizations, had been developed in the New World by the time the Spaniards arrived. Three were in North and Central America, the other two in South America.

The Rise of Civilizations

The earliest culture was perhaps that of the Mayas who gave much to other cultures. Their home was southeastern Mexico (Yucatán) and the northern part of Central America. Many scholars think the Mayas reached the highest development ever attained by the first

Americans. But before the Europeans arrived, this civilization had already collapsed. The Mayas were no longer living in pretentious cities and towns; most of them were dwelling in quadrangular or elliptical huts of one or two rooms with thatched roofs and walls of bamboo, adobe or rubble and plaster. The homes of the well-to-do were usually of the same material but built on a larger scale. Sometimes they were built of stone as were public buildings. House furnishings even among the wealthy were simple, consisting chiefly of low stools and reed mats for beds. The latter may be the origin of the present-day *petate.*

They were divided into numerous tribal groups at war with one another and unprepared for common defense. But they were still industrious farmers, craftsmen and traders. The causes of their reverse and final decline are not fully known. Probably the most important were changes in climate, exhaustion of the soil, inability to live together in harmony, and perhaps some sort of plague.

Yet their learned men knew more about astronomy than was known at the time anywhere else in the world. Their calendar was very accurate, their year containing 365 days, with an extra day for every fourth year. They invented a system of numbers in which the zero was used as today, except that they counted by multiples of twenty instead of ten. They did not invent an alphabet, but they developed picture writing to a convenient abbreviated form. They recorded important dates on stone columns or *stella* erected on the streets of their cities. They built huge temples and palaces with stone and stucco as building materials. Their temples were usually constructed on top of a truncated pyramid and were smaller than their palaces. These buildings were adorned with beautiful statues and covered everywhere with carvings. The Mayas were also skilled in pottery, and they made beautiful ornaments of gold, silver, copper, and bronze. But they seldom used metal for tools or weapons. They were expert weavers and some of their cotton textiles were so fine that the Spaniards mistook them for silk. They made large canoes and equipped them with oars and sails. Maya merchants travelled widely and plied a coastal trade.

At the peak of their civilization their land was crisscrossed by many trails and roads connecting the villages and towns. The best of the roads may have been the one built to connect Chichén-Itzá and Cobán. It was fifty miles long, about thirty-two feet wide and from two to eighteen feet high. The rubble which formed the base of the road was contained between revetments of cut stone. The upper surface was slightly curved so as to shed water and was protected by a coating of smooth cement.

Religion was a mighty influence in Mayan life. All of their affairs were thought to depend upon the pleasure or anger of numerous gods, who were believed to control everything: disease, health, rain, winds, fertility, the sun, the moon, and all the heavenly bodies. Nothing was so important as the avoidance of the displeasure and the cultivation of the approval of these divinities. That was the main purpose of all their studies of the earth and astronomy. That was the main function of their many priests and religious ceremonies, of their temples and sacrifices, which, in the later period, included human beings.

The great mass of the Mayas worked very hard in order to gain a living and support the nobles (warriors) and priests. The majority were farmers who cultivated maize, beans, squash, peppers, cacao, cotton, henequén and maguey. Plots of ground were distributed by the rulers to heads of families for cultivation, but the people did not own the land. There were also many artesans — spinners, weavers, carpenters, painters, masons, sculptors, and so on — and numerous merchants. (In this connection see Craine and Reindorp *The Relación of Michoacán*) Slaves were bought or captured from neighboring tribes, and the Mayas themselves were conscripted to work temples, palaces, and roads. For meat the Mayas depended on deer, some rabbit-like animals, and fish, and they domesticated bees for their honey and wax. Dyes, pigments and paints were obtained from crushed insects (cochineal), forests, and minerals.

Even the lowest classes practiced good personal hygiene for they impressed the Spaniards with their cleanliness. At least one bath a day was the rule.

In the hot climate of the lowlands little clothing was worn. The man wore only a breechclout of cotton, but the men of the upper classes often wore sandals of leather or agave fibre on their feet, and over their shoulders a tiger skin or a square cotton mantle which may be the origin of the present-day *manta* or *poncho*. The women's dress still persists in Yucatán and Guatemala and consists of a gayly embroidered cotton *huipil* or blouse worn over a pic or skirt having an embroidered hem projecting well below the upper garment. The head and shoulders were covered against sun and storm by a colored scarf.

Both sexes wore the hair short, cut squarely like a modern "bob"; but it was left long at times and elaborately dressed. Tattooing and painting the skin were customary as was filing the front teeth into sharp points. Wealthy men wore heavy jewelry of shells, turquoise, gold and other metals.

Meals were cooked out of doors on braziers of pottery or simple stone hearths using kettles also of pottery. They made dishes of clay, gourds or carved wood. In addition to the foods they raised, they gathered wild fruits of many kinds. Sweets were available in the form of fruit juices and the honey of wild or domesticated bees. Syrup was made from green maize stalks. They fished and hunted or trapped such game as turkeys, pheasants, partridges, pigeons, peccaries and deer.

The Mayas did not learn to use iron, but they made good use of gold, silver, copper and tin with which they made numerous alloys. They knew how to cast and fuse, draw wires, make gold leaf and fashion the metals into useful and ornamental shapes.

Their sense of the artistic and the beautiful is seen in the surviving handiwork, in the design of their buildings, in their sculpture, frescoes and pottery. They did not know the arch but they were able to accomplish much with false arches. One story buildings were the rule but some pueblo-like structures five stories high existed. Windows were scarce and curtains or hangings of reeds, skins or textiles seem to have been used to close openings for which purpose they also had a primitive type of venetian blind. Pigments were used in decorating and surfaces were painted but one color, a favorite was a deep, rich red but greens and blues were also used.

The most advanced system for maintaining a permanent record of thoughts and information found in early America was developed by the Mayas. They reached a stage of transition between picture-writing and phonetic characters. Ideographs and symbols were common and purely phonetic elements were occasionally employed. They recorded their history and other records on stone stellae, altars, walls, lintels, sheets of bark and deerskin or on paper made from maguey leaves. They kept scientific and historical records, ecclesiastical and civil accounts. There may have been a literature in prose and verse, but little is known of it. They were using a version of the decimal system before the Europeans had given up the awkward Roman numerals. Their chief use for numbers was in computing time. They were able to invent a calendar that was more accurate than the one in use by the Spaniards and it had been in use for some 2000 years. This is the greatest known intellectual achievement of the early Americans. It provided a more accurate solar year than existed in Europe until the adoption of the Gregorian calendar in 1582 A.D.

The artistic and intellectual achievements of the Mayas were largely the results of their interest in religion. For the purpose of securing prosperity and happiness they studied the spiritual forces believed to be behind human destiny. These forces were the gods of which there were many, some friendly, others adverse. The aid of the former was invoked against the latter. At the head of the hierarchy was a father god or creator who was of little concern to the masses of the population. Below him there were gods of the sky, the north star, the moon, the sun, thunder, lightning and wind, rain, war and suicides. There was also some ancestor worship. There seems to be no evidence of human sacrifice among the Mayas before the twelfth century, but the practice was brought in by the Toltecs later and was particularly practiced in times of distress. Among their numerous duties the priests also heard confessions. The Mayan had a very definite belief in a system of rewards and punishments after death, and confession was thought to help toward erasing a bad record.

During most of their final decline, the Mayan political organization was composed of a group of independent city states. But during the two great epochs when they reached the height of their cultural achievements their warriors and priests organized rather stable confederations, often referred to by later historians as empires. The last of these was dominated by a league of three cities in northern Yucatán which managed to keep the peace in Mayaland for nearly two centuries. Then the rulers of two of the cities became violent enemies, and shortly before 1200 one of them called in military assistance from the outside. The alien invaders — they were probably the Toltecs, who were neighbors on the west — soon got the upper hand, and held the Mayas in subjection for more than two centuries. They came to help and remained as rulers much like the Carthaginians in Spain. It was not until the year 1450, after a decade of struggle, that they regained their independence. The war had left their northern towns in ruins, however, and they abandoned some of them, migrating southward toward the scene of their earlier accomplishments. They never rose to cultural greatness again.

The southern part of Mexico's great central plateau, north of Yucatán and often called the Valley of Mexico, was the seat of another civilization of the first Americans. It is associated with the Aztecs because the rulers at the time of the Spanish invasion belonged to the Aztec tribe who seemingly had come down through the great Southwest of the United States. But they did not create this civilization. They simply took over what others had created, organized it, and made certain modifications and expansions. They were newcomers and merely one of the numerous Nahuatl-speaking tribes who had been migrating into the region from the north over a period of centuries. The earliest Nahuatl immigrants may have been the Toltecs, the Zapotecs, and the Mixtecs, who probably arrived in the Valley of Mexico between 500 and 600 A.D. It was these and other Nahuatl tribes who built the earliest civilization in the heart of Mexico, and even they were not altogether originators. They acquired the rudiments of agriculture from other Indians who had been sowing and reaping in this delightful region for centuries, and they also learned even more from the Mayas.

The Aztecs did not appear upon the scene until the middle of the eleventh century (when *El Cid* was roaming Spain); and for many years after they arrived, they wandered about unwelcome among the Nahuatl "oldtimers." Finally, about the year 1324, they settled in the swamps of Lake Texcoco, where they established a village of miserable grass huts, but through the years they improved their homes until it became a substantial island. Their village grew into a city of 200,000 or more and was named Tenochtitlán. Meantime, from their fortified base, they raided the neighboring towns. By the middle of the fifteenth century — probably in 1437 — they formed an alliance with two Nahuatl cities on the borders of the lake, the cities of Tezcoco and Tlacopán. The Aztecs soon dominated the league and extended their sway over an expanding "empire," which at its height, may have included a third of the territory of modern Mexico and may have held a population of 11,000,000. The so-called empires of the Mayas were tiny in comparison with this Mexican State. At their zenith, the Mayas perhaps never numbered more than 1,000,000 or so.

The empire of the Aztecs, or the triple alliance, was not a closely knit unit. The "emperor" at Tenochtitlán left the kings, or chiefs, of the other two cities of the league largely free to manage their local affairs, much like the municipalities in early Spain. Other towns, tribes, and districts might also have their own chiefs, provided Aztec merchants were well treated and taxes promptly paid. Heavy tribute was exacted from these tribes in every kind of produce and in human beings for sacrifice to the gods.

The Aztec monarchy was hereditary. The ruler was selected from the royal family by a group of family headmen and was advised by a council which included two high priests. The best known of the Aztec rulers, whom the Spaniards called emperors, were Montezuma I, or Moctezuma I, and his grand-nephew, Montezuma II.

Below the emperor were the tribal chiefs and the first in rank below them were the numerous nobles including high officials of religion, war and civil government. Then there were the leading merchants who were respected and wielded considerable influence. After these in order came the free peasants and artisans who were the rank and file of the nation. At the base of the class system was a large slave class composed of captives, persons deprived of their freedom as punishment, and children sold into bondage by their parents because of poverty.

The Nahuatls who occupied the Mexican plateau four centuries ago looked much like their present-day descendants. Their manner of dress and ornamentation were not very different from those of the Mayas and they used a heavy, square cotton mantle over the shoulders against the cold of the highlands. Their food also was much like that of the Mayas. Today the lower classes of Mexico thrive on the same basic fare as did their ancestors centuries ago. The diet consists of beans, stews highly seasoned with chili pepper, and their unleavened cakes of corn meal called *tlaxcallis* by the Aztecs and *tortillas* by the Spaniards.

A great deal of attention was given to agriculture by the Aztecs because climate and soil alone would not supply sufficient food. The hard soil had to be cultivated and water had to be brought from mountain streams to assure moisture, especially in times of drought. Maize, beans, cacao, maguey and cotton were the usual crops. An Aztec characteristic was a deep interest in plants and they had large botanical gardens or nurseries that were unknown at the time in Europe.

Trade and commerce were highly respected occupations and were protected and encouraged by the government. Every town had a market place and commerce was carried on through barter although a system of currency was in use.

In the larger cities there were hospitals for the wounded and the sick. According to Williams again, the doctors of the time were better than those in Europe and did not need to prolong the cure to increase the pay.

Among their gods, as described by Williams, the Aztecs had a supreme deity, "unknown, unseen, shapeless and formless, the cause of causes." This god seems to have been an adopted Quetzalcoatl who fostered productiveness and the eternal renewal of life or immortality. As they prayed the Aztecs spoke to this god as the Creator and Maker, or Former, who dwells in heaven and is the lord of the earth; who is our celestial father and mother, great lord and great lady.

The Aztec religion was over organized with a prolific hierarchy of priests, both men and women. Nuns and monks living under strict vows made contributions through their meditations to the religious thought and attitudes of the times. These people had a lively concept of sin which made their religion a serious business that eventually developed the practice of brutal human sacrifices and even cannibalism. Infants were born in sin which was washed away by baptism — a sprinkling of water upon lips and breast. There were confession and atonement by fasting and pennance. They were convinced of a life after death and it was determined mainly by the kind of life lived in this world.

The clergy were the educators and scholars. They gave a practical training that was intended to prepare for life. There was emphasis on moral discipline and service to the gods. Records were kept by means of pictures and hieroglyphics. Their number system was probably borrowed from the Mayas as was their manner of reckoning time although they did develop a calendar and the famous calendar stone. They had an academy to encourage intellectual and artistic achievement. It also maintained standards for teachers.

The civilization developed in the valley of Mexico by the Aztecs and the other Nahuatl-speaking tribes was in many ways similar to that of the Mayas, from whom they borrowed extensively. Like the Mayas, the Aztecs and their Nahuatl contemporaries and predecessors constructed many magnificent palaces and pyramidal temples for the worship of their numerous gods. They had more abundant food plants and a greater variety of meats than the Mayas possessed, and their tools, weapons, and building materials were superior. The Nahuatls, particularly the Aztecs, were also more capable organizers. Their law courts and their schools were more elaborate; their temples and palaces were more massive and spacious, though less gracefully embellished. Their gods were more abundant, more grotesque, and believed to be more difficult to placate, and their shrines and priests were accordingly more numerous. Their altars were saturated with blood;

sacrifices were offered constantly to a multitude of gods deemed more hostile than benevolent. Quail, rabbits, and thousands of human victims were offered up, especially to the terrible war god.

In her book *Idols Behind Altars,* Anita Brenner describes the social organization of the Aztecs. Except for captured slaves, society was organized into compact guilds by professions. There were merchant's guilds and teacher's guilds; and those who worked in metals, jewels and feathers were also organized professionally as were the potters, weavers, dyers, painters, dancers, architects, musicians and scribes. Every man must work. When the son came of age the father said, "Look for some craft or occupy yourself with agriculture . . . The land is our mother and must be cared for, and always requires our love. Or carry the merchant's staff, or the warrior's shield and mask, or do penitence in the temple to become a priest. For where has it been known that man lives not by craft but by nobility alone?" This contrasts with the attitude of the Spanish nobility as seen in a previous chapter.

As set forth by Hulbert in *Latin American Backgrounds*, among the Aztec dieties there was Quetzalcoatl (the "Fair God"), presumed to be more kindly than many others but destined to a fatal role in the relations of the Aztecs with the Spaniards. He was a sort of cultural hero, who was believed once to have instructed the Nahuatls in agriculture and the arts, and was expected to return some day and impart further knowledge and skill in these practical occupations. When he sailed away to the home of the sun in the east he left word among his people that one day he would return to take up his reign in the year of Ce Atl, the year called One Reed in the fifty-two year cycle of years. Whether by chance or by something other than chance, it is a fact that the year 1519 A.D. when Cortés appeared on the scene was the year One Reed.

Regarding mathematics and astronomy the Aztecs and their Nahuatl kinsmen probably knew less than the Mayas did. Their calendar was less accurate, although their great calendar stone was intricate and artistic; while their system of writing was somewhat less advanced.

The monarch and many of the nobility lived in large stone mansions, luxuriously furnished, equipped with fountains and baths, and surrounded by beautiful gardens. The common people dwelt in hovels of reeds, branches, bamboo, or sun-dried brick, covered with maguey, palm leaves or grass. They owned no farm lands. They led a laborious existence — the women and children as well as the men. They not only tilled the soil; they carried on household industries, built roads, temples, palaces and fortifications, and served as beasts of burden and soldiers. Slaves were numerous and included not only captives from the unrelated frontier tribes, but also Nahuatl kinsmen of the Aztecs and some of the Aztecs as well.

The crowning achievement of the Aztecs was their capital, Tenochtitlán, which later became Mexico City. Built out in a lake, it was connected with the shore by broad causeways of stone and cement, with drawbridges that could be raised to prevent the approach of an enemy. There was one wide avenue running through the center; elsewhere streets alternated with canals for boatmen. The streets were watered and cleaned daily. On making the rounds of the capital, the observer might see large stone dwellings, several palaces, a score or more of temple pyramids, wooden houses built on poles driven into the marshes, floating gardens of vegetables and flowers, and a busy market place filled with thousands of traders. The floating gardens, called Xochimilco, today are a most popular tourist attraction.

Besides the three cities of the Aztec league, there were a number of other towns, but they were less magnificent than Tenochtitlán. Cholula, however, seventy-five miles to the southeast, was famous for its shrines. It was a religious center for the surrounding tribes and is said to have been the site of two hundred temples. Most of these were perhaps modest structures; but one, dedicated to the worship of Quetzalcoatl, was built on the top of a huge truncated pyramid larger at its base than the Egyptian pyramid of Cheops. The ruins of several temples of the Aztec empire may still be seen in Mexico; some of them have been rebuilt, or "restored" so as to resemble as nearly as possible their original form.

Far away in northern South America, on the central plateau of modern Colombia in a region called Cundinamarca, a semi-civilization had been constructed by the Chibchas before the Europeans came to the New World. More advanced than that of the Pueblos in North America, it fell considerably short of the achievements of the Mayas and the Aztecs. The Chibcha homeland embraced a region of about 6,000 square miles, which was rather densely occupied, for its population probably numbered at least 1,000,000 in 1500. How long the Chibchas had lived in this area is not definitely known; perhaps for several centuries.

The Chibchas were industrious farmers, cultivating maize, yucca, beans, manioc, squash, quinoa, and some cotton, and irrigating their lands when necessary. They were experts in dying and weaving, they were skilled in gold work and pottery, but they had no copper. They mined salt and emeralds, but apparently obtained their gold from other Indians. They engaged in brisk trade with their neighbors, improving communications by means of roads and suspension bridges, and exchanging salt, emeralds and other products for fruits, skins, timber, bamboo, cane, gold, silver, and coca leaves (from which cocaine is extracted), which they were fond of chewing, a habit they passed on to the Peruvian Indians. They possessed a system of numbers and a fairly accurate calendar. They made use of pictographs in writing, somewhat as the Mayas did, but they had no books. They worshipped the sun and the moon and a number of other dieties. Their temples were few, but they had a multitude of sacred places, including lakes in which their rulers took ceremonial baths after anointing themselves and covering their bodies with gold dust. (This gave rise to the legend of El Dorado.) Along with frequent sacrifices of birds, deer and other animals, they sometimes made offerings of human beings to the sun.

The Chibcha state was in turmoil when the Spaniards arrived. It was ruled by two supreme chiefs who divided the country between them much as the Incas were doing. A number of subordinate chiefs had charge of the provinces and districts. A religious potentate, a sort of high priest, tried to preserve the peace, but frequently was unable to do so because the two supreme chiefs were such bitter rivals. If the Spaniards had not seized the country, one or the other of these native rulers might have consolidated the state and expanded it into an empire. The two sovereigns, called Zipa and Zaque, were despotic. They issued decrees, administered justice, commanded the armies, presided over the festivals.

The common people lived in huts built of wood, cane or thatch and roofed with branches, grass and clay. The ruling group dwelt in houses so large that the Spaniards called them castles. Although covered with thatch, they were constructed of solid wood and adobe. The walls were lined with bamboo and cane of various colors, held together by cords. The furniture and thrones were also made of wood. Within the buildings the ground served as a floor, but it was carpeted with matting which was probably another source of the *petate* or woven reed mat so popular today as construction material for walls and floor coverings in northern South America. The palace of the supreme chiefs, and the temples as well, contained many ornaments of gold and silver and large quantities of emeralds.

This is the time of the thirteenth century when Inca power was growing in what is now Peru. From the Cordilleras on the eastern rim of the plateau or Altiplano had come the strong, inventive Quechua-speaking people who gained control one-by-one of the older civilizations. These included the kingdom of Chan-Chan for one, and the Aymará people around Lake Titicaca whose ancestors had raised the gigantic monoliths that have never been explained.

At the time of the greatest extent of the empire, some two centuries later, it stretched from southern Colombia to central Chile, a distance greater than that from modern London to Constantinople. This cannot be explained solely nor chiefly by military conquest. Rather it was a tribute to the power of peace. Hulbert reports that a tale has been handed down which tells the secret of the Inca success. In what is now the Argentine province of Tucumán lived an ambitious primitive people who were seduced by the stories of the great culture of the Andean empire. A mission was sent to the Inca requesting admission to his commonwealth. He was also asked to send princes to teach them the arts, the language and the religion of the Incas. These pleas were granted and the first international technical assistance program got under way. The Inca sent colonists among them as was his custom in incorporating a new state, and instructors to teach manual and agricultural arts, metal work, spinning and weaving, rendering them more willing vassals than ever his army could have done.

As a consequence, probably, of these peaceful tactics the largest of the Indian states of the New World when the Europeans arrived was that of the Incas. In his book titled *Latin America*, Rippy indicates that its population is now believed to have been less dense than that of the Aztec empire and may have exceeded 7,000,000 shortly after 1500.

The Incas did not create the civilization which bears their name. Like the Aztecs, they took over what others had created, organizing, expanding and developing it; and, like the Aztecs, they were late arrivals in the domain which they controlled.

Not until 1000 or 1050 did the Incas enter the region which they were eventually to rule, about the time *Mío Cid* was roaming Spain. Other Indians had been dwelling in these highlands and coastal plains for many centuries, cultivating food plants, domesticating the llama, the alpaca, spinning, weaving, making pottery, working metals and building great stone temples, palaces and fortresses. In short, numerous Indians of the area were already semi-civilized when the Incas arrived.

The Incas, like the Aztecs, were merely a tribe. Apparently they wandered about for a time before they finally settled down among other tribes in Cuzco, which became their capital. They were ruled at first by a chief elected by the leading men of the tribe. Under the leadership of such chiefs they expanded the kingdom in every direction until they finally controlled this extensive empire. The prestige and power of the rulers increased with the size of the kingdom so that eventually they became hereditary monarchs. They were believed by their subjects to be gods and sons of the sun-god. Cuzco, their capital, grew until it became a city inhabited by some 200,000 people containing a large number of stone palaces and temples, and protected by great stone fortifications such as Sacsahuamán. The stone work was done without the aid of metal tools.

These and other buildings scattered about the empire — some new and others ancient — show that the Indians of the region were skillful architects. Like the Romans, they were also gifted engineers. The empire was covered by a vast network of roads along which were series of fortifications, posthouses and inns. Rivers and streams were spanned by remarkable stone or suspension bridges. The latter made famous by *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* by Thornton Wilder, were made of cables of woven willow rods — three cables supporting the floor and two serving as hand rails — and layers of branches and twigs, the cables fastened at each end to rocks or stone pillars, while boughs or cords connected the floor cables and hand rails. These bridges were strong enough to support several thousand pounds. In building the roads through the mountains, it was necessary to hew away the solid rock, construct embankments, and, in steeper places, to cut long flights of steps. And besides roads and bridges, the engineers and workmen constructed irrigation canals, ditches and terraces to increase or improve the arable land, all this, be it remembered, without the aid of metal tools.

The subjects of the Incas made good use of the soil. It was intensely cultivated wherever the climate and fertility were adapted to agriculture: the river valleys of the arid coastal area, the plateaus and the mountain valleys and slopes, both fish and guano being used as fertilizer. They learned how to terrace slopes to prevent erosion and those terraces may be seen in the Andes to this day. The principal crops were maize, potatoes, peanuts, beans, squash, melons, manioc, quinoa, peppers, and tomatoes as well as cotton, cocoa and various fruits. The food supply was varied and increased by the addition of fish and the meat of such animals as the llama, the alpaca, the guinea pig and the deer.

In addition to farming and the construction of roads, bridges, temples, palaces, aqueducts and homes for the common people, the inhabitants of Incaland worked at numerous other tasks. They had to weave many garments and blankets for much of their country lay in the high, cold Andes. Their rugs are a popular tourist item today. In making their textiles they used cotton, alpaca hair, the fleece of the llama and the vicuña. The traditional method of spinning is to be seen even now among the *Cholas* or Indian women of the Andean regions. Regardless of their occupation at the moment, if it does not require the use of the hands they will be spinning. While resting, herding sheep, during conversation or while walking along the road or trail they spin, never wasting a moment. According to the *Comentarios Reales* by El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, himself half Inca and half Spanish, girls learned to spin at a tender age.

They also made sandals and various weapons, tools and household utensils, as well as numerous images, decorations, and ornaments for religious and other purposes. The ceramic bulls made in Pucara are a prized souvenir today. In the working of precious metals, the fashioning of pottery, and the manufacturing of jewelry set with precious stones, they displayed great skill and appreciation for grace and beauty. Like the Mayas and the Nahuatls, they were very industrious.

One of the most remarkable features of the Inca empire, was its organization. For purposes of administration it was divided into many units based upon territory and population. At the head of the empire was the monarch, almost absolute. An exalted and sacred personage, into whose presence none came without humility and abasement; he was called the Inca or Sapa Inca. Under him were four high officials who may be described as viceroys. Each was a member of the royal council and ruler of a broad section, perhaps a quarter, of the empire. Immediately under the viceroys were officials who governed 40,000 families. Below them were other officials ruling 10,000 and so on down to minor officials who had charge of fifty and ten families respectively. All these were mainly administrative agents of the Inca, who also utilized a number of military officials, inspectors and spies, and perhaps other agents who served as judges.

The administrative officials of the two lowest ranks, those in charge of ten and of fifty families, were selected from among the people. The rest belonged to the nobility. Officials of the two highest ranks usually were members of the Inca family, so that there was an Inca caste as well as lesser nobility. This parallels early Spanish society. Next below the nobility came the bulk of the population, the common people. Below them were the *yanaconas* (peones) doomed to a status almost equivalent to perpetual slavery. Perhaps they had been captured in warfare on the frontiers or in revolt against the Inca. They worked in the royal household or on the estates of the monarch and the priests.

The agricultural lands of the empire were divided into three parts: one for the Incas, who also owned the minerals, the precious stones, and the llama and alpaca herds; another for the religious organizations; and a third for the people. The relative areas of each are uncertain, but the people's portion must have been much larger than that of the other two.

The people, however, did not own any land; plots merely for cultivation were allotted to each family in proportion to its size. Besides working their plots, the people had to help till the lands of the Incas and the religious organizations as well as the lands of those who for any reason were uable to cultivate them. They were also required to labor on the various public works, in the mines, and to serve in the armies and as royal messengers. In addition, each family had to pay tribute in the form of products of the farm and of household industry. Labor of practically every kind was done under the supervision of state officials, but age and health were considered in the assignment of tasks. Those past sixty years of age belonged to the dotage or "no work" class. Labor was specialized according to community, skill being handed down from parent to child. One village would produce pottery in the main while another would make weapons, and so on. But the need for warm clothing in the highlands where most of the population existed resulted in weavers being found in nearly every village. The products left to the family after paying the share demanded by the Inca could be traded freely in the local markets.

Some of the commodities produced for church and state or paid as tribute were sent directly to Cuzco. The rest were taken to warehouses of the numerous towns and villages of the empire. The royal officials obtained their supplies from those stores, and from them were distributed food, clothing, and other articles to the poor, the incapacitated, and the victims of such misfortunes as flood, drought and earthquake. Thus it seems that the people had security; they were fairly sure of obtaining the simple necessities of life. No one save the royal family and the lesser nobility had much more; and even the royalty and the nobility, with few exceptions, did not live in great luxury. The dwellings of the common people were little better than hovels. Built of adobe, wood, sometimes of stone, and covered with thatch, they rarely consisted of more than one room, and the ground served as a floor. They had everything they wanted (security) except liberty.

To prevent the interruption of labor which supplied the government, the religious organization and those who depended on charity, family festivals and private weddings were not permitted among the masses. These too, were regimented. Instead, once a year, according to El Inca Gracilaso de la Vega, the marriageable young people were assembled in the city squares (later called *plaza de armas* by the Spaniards) and paired off. The consent of the parents was obtained first and sometimes the wishes of the brides and the grooms were considered. When all eligible persons had been matched there was "one universal matrimonial jubilee throughout the empire," accompanied by dancing and singing and playing of pan pipes or *quena* (still used today), sometimes called *rondador*, flutes, drums and other musical instruments. When the national wedding festival had ended everybody returned to his labors. One year later all would celebrate a common wedding anniversary.

The schools, which were established in the capital and perhaps in some of the larger towns, were not for the people. The Incas feared that too much knowledge and thought might make the masses restless and disobedient. The schools were, therefore, only for the children of the royal family and the other nobility. The main purpose of education was to train the youth for public offices and the professions. They received instruction in religion, law, science, administration, accounting, language, and the history and traditions of the empire. The numerous priests, who were headed by a high priest belonging to the Inca family, had charge of the schools and of higher learning in general. As in Spain, education was a function of the religious organization. In mathematics the decimal system was used and the chief instrument for accounting was the *quipu*, a devise consisting of knotted strings of various colors and lengths which may have been employed also to keep other records, since the Incas had no system of writing. Although the religious sages knew less about astronomy than the Mayas did, they had a fairly accurate calendar, and they also knew a good deal about medicine and surgery.

The religion of Incaland was not cruel like that of the Aztecs. Human sacrifices were rare. The people worshipped and sought to appease many dieties, but the state religion centered about the worship of the sun and of a god of creation and culture called Viracocha or Pachacamac. In Cuzco and in many other leading settlements of the empire there were temples to the sun-god. Connected with these temples there were "chosen women" whose duties are not fully known. Apparently they were maidens, mainly from the upper class, who cleaned and adorned the temples and made garments for the royal family and the religious leaders, thus reminding one of the virgins who served in the temples of ancient Rome. They eventually became the wives of members of the ruling classes, who practiced polygamy.

The Inca empire was highly organized, regimented, immobile. There was little or no movement from one class to another and, for the masses, very limited movement even from place to place, unless the Inca desired to establish a new colony. In this case, a group of families was uprooted rather mercilessly and shifted to another region for strategic reasons or in order to increase production in a more fertile section. Only the nobility traveled freely over the empire. Yet, within each class, the administrative and judicial agents seem to have tried to be impartial. Crimes and misdemeanors were severly punished, but the welfare of the people apparently was kept in mind. The Inca despotism seems, on the whole, to have been fairly benevolent as well as efficient. Graft and corruption seem to have been almost unknown. Too much labor, perhaps, was devoted to the building of palaces, temples, and religious houses. In general, however, it may be concluded that the masses were poor because they were too numerous for the techniques and resources available in the empire and because the ownership of property and its incentives were not understood.

There is another custom that may have carried over from the days of the Incas. Today, when a white man travels the backlands of Incaland the Indian women tip their bowler hats to him in passing. The European dress, of course, identifies him as from a "master race" because of the Spanish conquest. This may be a carryover from the days when only the Incas, the rulers were allowed to travel about.

The Inca state was unusually stable. It lasted for four centuries. For most of that period it was engaged in warfare, but the wars were for expansion and conquest or for defense. Revolts and civil wars were not frequent. Only one monarch was overthrown in two centuries (1330-1530), and he was displaced by his far more able son. Eldest son followed eldest son without a break and army officers never seized the government. Insubordination, conspiracy, when they occurred, were firmly dealt with. Individuals guilty of crimes against the state were executed, imprisoned or enslaved. News from all parts of the empire was brought speedily to the capital by swift messengers and signal fires so that organization of revolt was very difficult.

But the empire was in the midst of civil war when the Spanish conquerors arrived. It was a fatal conflict caused by special circumstances. The empire had been divided by the Inca Huayna Capac in 1525 in order to make a place for an illegitimate son. This son ruled in the north with his capital at Quito. His half-brother, the legitimate Inca, governed the rest of the empire from his capital at Cuzco. The two were bitter rivals and civil war was the result.

Early Cultural Achievements

The achievements of the first Americans were not insignificant. Their shortcomings and cruelties can be viewed with sympathetic tolerance. They had a had struggle to tame a vast wilderness and themselves. Industrious, inventive, skillful, they often made good use of the resources at hand. They domesticated many valuable plants that are still cultivated in the Americas and in other parts of the world (the potato is native to Peru). They discovered a number of drugs and made considerable progress in medicine and surgery. They domesticated the turkey, the llama and the alpaca. They learned how to irrigate, drain, terrace, and fertilize the soil. They could run irrigation water downhill without erosion. They manufactured numerous tools, weapons, garments, decorative designs for pottery and textiles which are still used and appreciated. They learned how to produce and use pigments of blue, yellow, red, brown, black and white and how to apply them in varied tints and shades in beautiful combinations. Their best architecture displayed great determination, skill and power to mobilize labor. Some of their engineering feats were magnificent. They were talented in sculpture, carving and metal work, producing a multitude of decorations and implements of gold, silver, copper and platinum, and some bronze. They devised clever methods of writing and accounting, but failed to invent an alphabet and thus advance to the phonetic system. They learned to use the decimal system in calculations, but only the Mayas learned to utilize the zero. In their religion there was much superstitution, oppression and cruelty. The governments of the larger Indian states were marred by despotism and tyranny. The masses of the people had security but little liberty or opportunity for individual initiative. Private property in lands and natural resources was rare.

The progress of these earliest Americans might have been much more startling if they had possessed such food plants as wheat, oats, rice, and barley and such domestic animals as horses, cattle, sheep, goats, swine and barnyard fowls. But it was not their fault that they did not have these most useful plants and animals, for the New World seems to have had no wild specie that might have been tamed, domesticated and transformed into such cereals and livestock. Limitations in food supply and beasts of burden made their struggle for existence very severe. Some of their shortcomings, however, are very surprising.

They failed to make tools and weapons of iron and to contrive such useful inventions as the plow, the arch and the wheel. Their progress probably was retarted by lack of association with peoples and civilizations decidedly different from themselves and their own.

Whatever culture they possessed they had developed by virtue of their own talents. The first Americans borrowed almost nothing from the Old World, because all communication with it had ceased before any civilizations had been developed there. What further advances they might have made if left to themselves for a few more centuries will never be known. They were subjugated shortly after the arrival of the Europeans in America and their way of life was violently disrupted. But these first Americans were not exterminated. Many of them lived on, worked for their masters, and mingled their blood with that of the conquerors in contrast with the settlement of Anglo America. Four centuries after the conquest, the Indians of Hispanic America numbered 20,000,000 to 25,000,000 and the mixed bloods numbered between 50,000,000 and 60,000,000 more. Their survival in today's New World makes it important to consider their achievement and capacity for development, the contribution they may make to modern civilization, and their adaptation into the white man's social organization.

This is the New World into which Columbus opened the door on October 12, 1492, the scene of conflict between two worlds, among several cultures, the stage of dramatic and herculean events and accomplishments.

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Chapter VI

Spanish America To Independence

The West Indies were destined to be the first region in the Americas to be conquered and occupied by the Spaniards. Christopher Columbus and his associates subdued the Indians of the island of Española and established settlements there. Military leaders sent out from Española by Diego Colón and by other governors began the subjugation and occupation of Puerto Rico, Jamaica and Cuba. Like the Jews and the Moors at home, the natives of these islands were compelled to work for the Spaniards and furnish them food and supplies. Being rather gentle and delicate tribes, they were soon exterminated by hard labor, war and epidemics of smallpox and other diseases.

The conquest and early settlement of northern South America and the southern part of Central America proceeded from the West Indian base. Starting as early as 1509, Spaniards occupied the lower part of the American Isthmus, which they called Darién or Panamá. Here likewise the natives were subjected to slavery or other forms of compulsory labor, but more of them survived than in the West Indies. It was in this region that Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific, first came into prominence. Northern South America was harassed for several years by slave raiders before any permanent Spanish settlements were made there.

It was not until 1517 or 1518 that the Spaniards began to receive definite news of the semicivilized Indian societies. Once their existence and location were ascertained, however, they were speedily invaded and conquered. The Aztecs, the Mayas, the Incas, and the Chibchas were subjugated before the middle of the century.

The Aztec empire was conquered by Hernando Cortés, a shrewd, bold and ruthless young man of only thirty-four when he began his exploit. A native of southern Spain and a member of the lesser nobility, he became a planter in Española and later took part in the conquest of Cuba, which served as the base for his invasion of the mainland. The governor of Cuba first gave him his commission and then tried to revoke it. But Cortés defied him and sailed from the island with a small army in February of 1519.

Reaching the coast of Mexico, Cortés effected a number of landings and rescued an Aztec slave girl and a marooned Spaniard who made themselves useful as interpreters. Continuing northward along the coast, he put his entire force ashore and founded the present-day town of Veracruz.

After winning over a number of Indian allies and burning his ships in order to prevent the less courageous of his followers from deserting and returning to Cuba, Cortés advanced into the interior in August of 1519.

The subjugation of the Aztec capital required months of preparation and bloody war. Ammunition and boats had to be manufactured and Indian allies rallied. It was August 13, 1521, before the Spaniards were able to capture the city in the middle of the lake. The great leader of the Aztec warriors was Cuautémoc, who in later years became one of Mexico's national heroes. A good part of Tenochtitlán (the city in the lake) was destroyed before the fighting was over.

More than a decade was required to build the foundations of New Spain upon the ruins of Montezuma's confederation. The old Aztec capital, largely rebuilt by the conquerors, became the capital of the new Spanish Kingdom. The booty collected from the Aztecs amounted to many millions of dollars, and news of Cortés' rich haul sent hundreds of Spaniards out in search of "other Mexicos."

The Mayas of northern Central America and Yucatan were soon invaded. Setting out in 1523, Alvarado advanced toward the southeast through mountain and jungle into Guatemala and on beyond to Cuzcatlán, now known as the Republic of El Salvador. A scourge of smallpox swept the country before him and weakened the resistance of the natives, but much hard fighting was necessary before success came. In spite of the lack of unity and cooperation among the natives, it required more than five years to subjugate them. In 1524 Alvarado founded the town of Santiago de Guatemala, which eventually became the capital of a captaincy general that included most of Central America. Later the capital was moved to Antigua, and from here to Guatemala City.

The Mayas of Yucatán were subdued by the Montejos, father, son, and nephew all of whom bore the name Francisco. They received their commission from Emperor Charles V, who had decided to curtail the power of Cortés. A proud and handsome people, the Yucatecan Mayas fought with great skill and stubbornness and warded off subjugation until 1545.

Meantime Spaniards down on the Isthmus of Panama had heard of the Incas. Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, the leaders in the conquest of the west Inca dominions, were illiterate men of humble birth, who resided in the New World a good many years before they began to invade Incaland. After months spent in the sweltering heat of the tropics, two of their expeditions were forced to turn back to their point of departure without reaching their objective. (The eastern jungles of Panamá are still the greatest obstacle to the completion of the Inter-American highway.)

The third expedition left the port of Panamá in January, 1531, and sailed down the coast. As the Spaniards approached the northern confines of the Inca empire, they heard of the civil war between the two half-brothers, Atahualpa and Huáscar. With a detachment of a few soldiers and a few cannons, Pizarro scaled the lofty western range of the Andes and entered the Inca city of Cajamarca. Atahualpa was induced by a young lieutenant named Hernando de Soto to come to Cajamarca for a parley, and was treacherously seized by Pizarro. Before this, Atahualpa had captured Huáscar, and had promptly had him executed. Hence, one of the Inca rulers was dead and the other a prisoner of the Spaniards.

Late in August, 1533, in spite of the millions of dollars (a room full of golden utensils and ornaments and another full of silver artifacts), which the Inca monarch had paid for his ransom, Atahualpa was put to death. Then Pizarro advanced southward along the Andes to Cuzco, the great Inca capital, which he entered without resistance in November, 1533.

While Pizarro was transforming Cuzco into a Spanish city and plundering its gold-filled temples, young Sebastián Benalcázar was sent with a small detachment to capture Quito, north of Cajamarca and the northern capital of Incaland. This he succeeded in doing just in time to prevent seizure of the city by Pedro de Alvarado, who had set out southward on his own initiative from Guatemala in the hope of acquiring further riches. Shortly afterwards, on January 6, 1535, Pizarro founded the town of Lima (the Spanish pronunciation of Rimac), on the banks of the Rimac river near the Pacific coast. A few months later, Diego de Almagro, to whom the Spanish monarch had assigned the southern part of the Inca dominions, decided to explore his grant and headed an expedition which finally arrived in a distant region called Chile. From the foregoing it is clear that Incaland was not fully subdued and pacified until after the middle of the sixteenth century, and by that time nearly all of the original conquerors had come to violent deaths. The Inca empire became the center of the Spanish vice-royalty of Peru, but with its capital in Lima.

The Andean plateau of Cundinamarca, the home of the Chibchas, was more than 400 miles beyond the northern frontier of Incaland, and much farther from the Caribbean coasts of what later became New Granada (Colombia) and Venezuela. Efforts to invade the land of the Chibchas were made from one of the Venezuelan settlements and by other men, but the inhabitants were eventually subdued by Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada and his intrepid captains and soldiers.

Quesada did not embark for the New World until the occupation of the Spanish Main was well under way. Santa Marta (1525) and Cartagena (1533) had already been founded in the region soon to be called New Granada. Two or three other Spanish settlements, among them Coro (1527), had been estabished to the east in Venezuela.

Authorized by the governor of Santa Marta to penetrate South

America, Quesada left this coastal town in April, 1536. The long, disastrous march across mountains and through jungles to the Magdalena River, up the hot valley, and over the rugged Andes to the high plateau of Cundinamarca, about 800 miles from Santa Marta, required nearly nine months.

The subjugation of the Chibchas involved no great hazards. Weakened by civil war, disease and by hostilities with their neighbors on the west, they hardly offered a feeble resistance. A good many were slaughtered including many of their chiefs, but the majority of the Chibchas survived and became slaves and serfs of their masters. The booty obtained by the commander and his army was much smaller than the plunder gathered in New Spain and Peru, but it was probably worth not less than a $1,000,000. On August 6, 1538, Quesada laid the foundations of the Spanish town of Santa Fé de Bogotá (popularly known as Bogotá), which became the capital of another Spanish colony called the New Kingdom of Granada.

The conquest of some 20,000,000 semicivilized Indians in the New World was now almost complete. Swift and terrible, it was effected by surprisingly small military forces. Cortés left Cuba with fewer than 700 men, entered the Aztec capital with about 600; and finally conquered the city by an assault involving no more than 130 Spaniards although many Indian allies fought on his side from the outset. Pizarro confronted Atahualpa with only 168 and subdued a good portion of the Inca empire with no more than 1,000 or 1,200. Quesada conquered the Chibchas with only 166 warriors.

The conquest of the area occupied by the semicivilized tribes is only a part of the story of the sixteenth century accomplishments of Spain in America. Many of the primitive tribes — nomadic and seminomadic Indians such as the Navahos with whom Anglos are familiar — inhabited regions that became fairly important Spanish colonies and eventually important nations of Latin America.

These are the foundations upon which the Spaniards were to superimpose their own culture.

The Transfer of Iberian Culture

Even during the sixteenth century, efforts in America were not restricted alone to exploration, conquest, and seizure of the persons and possessions of the first Americans. The Spaniards evangelized them, intermarried with them, and taught them new skills and new methods of production. They even brought in Negro slaves from Africa to ease their burdens — thanks to the influence of Bartholomé de las Casas.

Concubinage or barragania, it will be recalled, was a custom introduced into Spain by the Moors. In the New World, since the Spaniards brought no women with them at first, many "provisional homes" were formed throughout the colonies by Spaniards and Indian women. The resulting new racial blend is called *mestizo* and is regarded in most cases as belonging to the lower class. In time it formed the major portion of the population.

The Spanish searched diligently for precious metals and jewels, but they also urged that the cultivation of the native crops, such as tobacco and cacao be continued. They introduced wheat, sugar cane, and domestic animals such as sheep, cattle and horses. And they applied themselves to management of farms, plantations and ranches. They founded towns, built homes, and established sugar refineries, rope factories, textile shops, and centers of trade. In short, during the sixteenth century and the two that followed, they transplanted their institutions and culture so successfully that more than a third of the Americas is still Hispanic.

The New World belonged to the Spanish monarchs and not to the Spanish nation, a practice established by Roman rulers centuries earlier. They successfully asserted not only sovereign, but also property rights in America. Every privilege, office, and position, whether political, judicial, administrative, economic or religious, must come from them. It was from this basis that the exploration, conquest, occupation and government of the New World proceeded. The entire enterprise was undertaken by and for the royal authorities, under the direction of individuals appointed by them and directly responsible to them.

The conquest can be understood only in the light of the genius of those men from the Iberian Peninsula. They brought with them an intense awareness of their dignity, their sense of importance as an individual, their quick appreciation of the dramatic, and the heroic, and a keen sense of personal honor which played such an important role in the Golden Age drama of Spain. They were on fire with a titanic energy. A favorite religious belief in a divine mission, the religious fervor of the crusader which had just been crowned by the overthrow of the last Moorish stronghold in Granada. They expanded, conquered and settled the vast New World with imperial disregard for relative distances, unimaginable and unpredictable dangers, and grinding hardship the like of which the world had not seen, and cannot now fathom.

The procedure followed in conquering the New World for the authorities has been described in *The Coming of the White Man* by Priestly in the following words.

When a leader wanted to go forth to add dominions to the crown he first requested the royal license. To obtain it he had to show first sufficient financial backing to insure probable success. His profits were to be taken from the area subdued. He was to have the right to exact labor from the Indians, to appoint municipal officers for the first year, to possess a tract of land and to grant land to his followers according to their merits or services. He might recruit companies of soldiers or settlers, offering them such inducements from the conquest and taking from them such pledges of loyalty as he himself gave the king or his representative. Sometimes royal funds were invested if the venture were of strategic importance. There were judicially chosen missionaries, in large numbers usually, to effect a spiritual conquest. And there were never lacking royal officials, or treasury representatives, who kept account of all treasure-trove, gold mines discovered, or any visible sources of wealth of which the king and the leader were each to have a fifth. Never varying greatly in plan, all the expeditions of discovery and conquest closely followed this system.

As the monarch's overseas dominions grew, he set up in the homeland two institutions to assist him in governing them. As early as 1503, he established in Seville the *Casa de Contratación*, or House of Trade, whose duties were the supervision of commerce, navigation, and emigration, and the training of pilots. By 1524, he had set up a permanent Council of the Indies, to which he entrusted supreme legislative and judicial control, under the king, of all the colonies in the New World, and charged it as well with the functions of nominating all colonial and ecclesiastical officials and the giving of advice with respect to their conduct.

Always eager for profits and jealous of their prerogatives, the monarchs not only sent treasury officials to America but also extended to the Indies a system of investigation and a corps of investigators (*pesquisadores*, *visitadores*, and officials of the *residencia*) as was seen in Chapter II. Officials were carefully watched, often judicially investigated before the expiration of their period of service, and nearly always subjected to the *residenca* at its end. Perhaps the most effective check upon royal officials in the colonies, however, and one of the most important colonial institutions, was the *audiencia*, seven of which were established by the middle of the century and nine by 1600. Composed of from four to twelve judges, and one or two prosecuting attorneys, they had many functions, judicial, advisory, and even administrative. They were the highest court within the boundaries of their jurisdictions, and there was no appeal, save in very important cases, which might be referred to the Council of the Indies. They also served as an advisory body to the chief executive, sat in judgment upon his acts, and communicated over his head to the Council; and in the absence of the executive, on account of death or for any other reason, the *audiencia* acted as an ad interim administrative authority.

A conspicuous feature of Spanish colonization was the planting of towns and municipal institutions. Spaniards disliked the isolation of rural life and preferred to live in urban communities. There were some 200 towns in Spanish America by 1574 and perhaps 250 by 1600. Among them were fourteen destined to be capitals of as many independent nations. Perhaps a score of the important towns of the nineteenth century had not been founded in the sixteenth. Paraphrasing Priestly, the Spanish towns, as distinguished from the Indian towns, were legally established by groups of settlers numbering from ten to one hundred heads of immigrant families. The grants to the towns usually consisted of four square leagues (about 18,000 acres) and, as in the New England towns, the land was divided among the colonists in proportion to their merits, capacity or number of family dependents. The smallest grant inside the building area of the town, which was laid out four square about a public plaza, consisted of a house lot measuring about fifty by one hundred feet. In addition and outside the building area he received enough land to sow one hundred *quintales* (10,000 pounds) of wheat or barley and ten of corn. He was also given a measured plot of ground for a garden and an orchard, besides pasture ground for ten sows, five mares, one hundred sheep, and twenty goats in return for which he must provide the beginning of these herds. A pioneer who had the status of a mounted soldier might receive a house lot 100 feet by 200 feet, stable and pasture lands five times as extensive as those given to a small husbandman. The town was established by a leader, or a group acting as a unit. The officers were generally elected, though when a leader had taken the initiative he was permitted to appoint them for the first year. From this type of grant sprang the Spanish pueblo or town which was the prototype of all the cities of Spanish America.

These towns were units of Spanish culture anchored in the New World. They had their plazas and parks, their imposing churches, monasteries, and municipal buildings, and their schools and hospitals. In them were living at the end of the century more than 200,000 people of pure Spanish descent, besides many Negroes, mulattoes, mestizos, and Indians who either resided in the rear of the Spanish homes or in municipal wards set aside for them.

Toward the end of the century, most of the subjugated Indians were settling, willingly or unwillingly, in separate towns and villages scattered about over the various colonies. For the most part, they were ruled by Spanish *encomenderos* and crown officials (*corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores*) who directed their work and largely dominated their trade, and were supposed to educate them and promote their material and moral development with the assistance of the clergy, who were also in charge of the frontier mission villages. In many instances, however, *encomenderos*, crown officials and clergymen used Indian chiefs *caciques* as agents of social control, although such Indian officials were seldom more than puppets.

Spanish exploits and experiences in the New World tend to evoke literary expression. Prior to 1800, few periods in history were so completely revealed by the records of contemporaries and participants. The conquerors and explorers were often men of literary attainment. Cortés, Bernal Díaz del Castillo (whose house still stands in Antigua), and Quesada are conspicuous examples. Balboa, Cabeza de Vaca and, in fact, most of the leaders either wrote formal accounts of their difficulties and achievements or sent letters to members of the Spanish government. Friars who accompanied the explorers or followed closely upon their heels presented first-hand narratives of events. The Spanish monarchs employed chroniclers, geographers and historians to write of the New World. And even some men with Indian blood in their veins, such as Garcilaso de la Vega, produced accounts of Indian life and the Spanish conquest.

The numerous writers of the period were concerned mainly with war, natural phenomena, religion and native languages. A few, such as Juan Matienzo, dealt with government and commerce. Most of their works were in prose as the *Comentarios Reales*, dealing with Inca customs and folklore, by El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1615) himself half Inca and half Spanish. His mother was an Inca princess. A few expressed themselves in poetry, and in fact, some 300 poets are said to have participated in a contest held in New Spain in 1585. The most famous poems of the period are *La Araucana*, written by Alonza de Ercilla y Zuñiga (1533-95), and *Grandeza Mexicana*, the work of Bernardo de Balbuena (1568-1627). The first dealt with the author's personal adventures in the war with the Araucanian Indians of Chile. The second presented a vivid account of New Spain, especially Mexico City, its beauties, wonders, and native inhabitants. Of less note is Martín del Barco Centenera's poetic account of the conquest of the Río de la Plata region. Shortly before 1600, Juan de Castellanos of New Granada produced his *Elegies of Illustrious Men*, one of the world's longest poems.

The sixteenth century was also marked in Spanish America by considerable achievements in architecture, sculpture, and painting, much of it devoted to religious purposes. Most of the painting and sculpture has perished and only a few examples of the architecture still survive.

The seventeenth century was marked in England and northern Europe by the beginning of the Age of Science, but little of the scientific spirit reached distant Spanish America. As Humboldt has remarked, contact with the magnificent phenomena and the strange native races of a new world might have resulted in a great advance of knowledge had not the free range of the intellect been stifled by superstition and fanaticism. During the sixteenth century, as has been noted, Spaniards who had been ruthless in the destruction of native culture nevertheless produced many a systematic work on geography, biology, zoology, anthropology and Indian languages, which were marred by the interjection of many gross superstitions, but were useful sources for the historian and the scientist. Since Spaniards of the seventeenth century, whether in Spain or in America, were probably less gifted in literature, equally fanatic, and perhaps more superstituous, their writings on the New World were no better and sometimes even worse than those of their predecessors. It is impossible to determine how many of the works were Spanish and how many Spanish-American, for most of the writers spent about as much time in the mother country as in the colonies. Whatever their prevailing residence, however, their preoccupations continued to be war, natural phenomena, theology, language, and government, frequently with a strong tendency to express themselves in dull, tedious, and extravagantly ornate poetry. Difficulties of printing limited the number of their productions, while a strict censorship and the Inquisition tended to confine their contents to the tenets of a rigid dogma. Eleven new universities were founded during the century, but the writers of the period, as well as their predecessors, continued to devote themselves largely to canon law, scholastic philosophy, theology, and letters. Little attention was given to mathematics, medicine, economics or the sciences.

Few minds of seventeenth-century Spanish America were able to rise above the dark clouds of superstition. Comets and eclipses portended calamities soon to be visited upon the people by an enraged deity. Thunderstorms, volcanoes, and earthquakes sent them fleeing in terror to the churches in order to ask forgiveness for their sins while the massive walls tumbled down upon them and their abandoned homes crumbled in upon unremoved furnishings. If they escaped with their lives, it was only through the intervention of some saint or the Virgin. Life was filled with benign miracles from Heaven and the punishments of an angry God. Yet many Spanish Americans, and not a few churchmen among the number, persisted in a course of morality low even for the age in which they lived.

But a narrow provincialism and ethocentrism should not be permitted to lend asperity to the student's judgment, be he from either side of the Río Bravo. During the same century Massachusetts divines consumed much ink in theology, attributed toothache to the sins of the teeth, saw in calamities the vengeance of an offended God, gave the Indian little or no place in the Divine Plan, filled their histories with almost as many miracles as facts, and hanged witches or burned them at the stake.

Moreover, the drab depressiveness of Spanish American life was relieved by magnificent homes, churches, public buildings, plazas, and patios, all of which displayed a highly developed artistic taste along with considerable architectural skill which inevitably emphasized the deep religious faith. It was also graced by the charming hospitality of the Spanish American, the warm sympathy of some writers for the oppressed Indians, the wit and banter of poets, and the lively display of festival and drama. Occasionally, too, there appeared a scientist such as Don Carlos Sigüenza y Gongora, who discovered the medicinal properties of a new herb or bark, or with telescope and quadrant, stood observing the eclipse of the sun which had caused the superstitious populace to flee in dread and terror, surveyed the Gulf coast of Angloland, and who, even while dying, willed his body to physicians in the hope that its dissection would throw new light upon the ills that afflicted his fellow men.

Literary activity was restricted and cultivated by an infinitesimally small and select group of intellectuals, standing like a tiny edifice upon a vast foundation composed of a mass of ignorant and hopeless native population. Such was the situation in seventeenth century New Spain. It was no better in Peru and New Granada, and probably worse elsewhere. Upon such a scene dawned the eighteenth century, which was destined to witness important reforms and give birth to new currents of dynamic thought.

During the following century, the influence of the church in the field of learning was not an unmixed good. If it must be admitted that at least a dozen universities, scores of seminaries and hundreds of elementary and secondary schools owed their existence to the clergy, it must also be pointed out that ecclesiastical teaching was somewhat inefficient and much of the content of ecclesiastical education of doubtful value. Children were taught to memorize but not to think. Formalities and indoctrination were emphasized rather than the training of the character and the mind. Sometimes the clergy stood with flaming swords at the gates of knowledge, (this was true in particular of the officials of the Inquisition, who undertook a rigid censorship of all reading matter and placed thousands of books upon the list of forbidden literature).

Yet in spite of all these limitations, learning made some progress in the colonies during the eighteenth century. The Spanish rulers and the viceroys themselves were its patrons until the extravagances of the French Revolution drove them to a reversal of their policy. Universities had been founded earlier, such as those in the Dominican Republic (1538), Mexico and Peru (1551). Others were founded later in Caracas (1722), in Havana (1728), and another in Santiago de Chile (1738). Several printing presses were added to the few previously set up. Presses were introduced during the century into Veracruz and Guadalajara in Mexico, Quito and Ambato in Ecuador, Bogotá, Colombia, and Buenos Aires. Newspapers appeared in Havana, Mexico City, Guatemala City, Bogotá, Lima and Santiago. While the old types of colonial literature, such as poetry, chronicles, treatises on Indian languages, and books on dogma, speculative philosophy and theology continued to appear, gradually more emphasis was placed upon medicine and other sciences, as well as upon politics and social criticism. The stream of thought that was flowing so strongly in Western Europe, and even to a considerable extent in Spain itself, could not be entirely shut out of the New World. Spanish American students returning from their European studies broke the dikes. Traders from France, England, and Anglo America lent a hand and some of the universities felt its influence and became centers of new learning, namely medicine, jurisprudence, and mathematics. Not a few of the churchmen themselves were swept into the current. Although it cannot be said that education was very widespread even among the whites and mestizos at the end of the century, the group of the intelligentsia had expanded greatly and the long intellectual isolation of the colonies had broken down.

It was not to be expected that serious effort would be made to provide for general education. Literacy was uncommon everywhere, and ignorance among the masses was a desirable condition in the view of government officers, the privileged classes and the Church. Though there was sporadic interest in popular enlightenment, those who were able to profit from the exciting schools were the sons of the aristocratic class and the high ranking mestizos. Indians, Negroes, and girls had no opportunity to obtain an education. Only convents offered a modicum of education for girls.

There were occasional private attempts to establish schools, but there was no uniform educational development. In many regions, elementary schools were few and secondary education was non-existent. In wealthy and densely populated sections there were good schools offering excellent instruction.

Universities offered the educational opportunities needed by the young men of the upper class. The fees charged were comparatively low and attendance was fostered by means of fellowships annually. Thus, thousands of students enrolled in the universities, especially at Lima and Mexico. The *colegios* of Mexico alone awarded approximately 30,000 bachelors degrees between 1553 and 1775 and the university about a thousand doctorates.

The universities followed the medieval practice of letting the students, faculty and alumni elect the rector. In a broad way, the universities of Spanish America were modeled after the university of Salamanca in Spain. Practically all the professors were clergymen. Instruction was by lecture, usually in Latin, and the teachers were interested in imparting facts and in having the students remember them. There was no concern for developing the capacity to think.

Most of the universities had schools of arts, law, medicine and theology. The liberal arts courses usually included mathematics, Latin, logic, rhetoric, physics, and metaphysics, and sometimes the aboriginal languages. Despite their backwardness and general weakness, all the universities of Spanish America were centers of culture and a few were superior to the educational institutions to be found in Anglo America.

Among the scientists of the century, several deserve to be mentioned. Beside writing numerous poems, Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo of Peru produced many works of navigation, astronomy, metallurgy, engineering and history. Antonio Alzate of New Spain published a number of articles on a wide range of scientific subjects of modern Mexico. Francisco José de Caldas, a pupil of the able Spanish scientist José Celestino Mutis, won fame by a botannical survey of New Granada and by astronomical observations in Santa Fé de Bogotá. Hipólito Unánue of Peru attained distinction in medicine and climatology and Santiago de Cárdenas even wrote a book on a "new system of navigating by air," which gained for him the title of "El Volador" (The Flyer).

At least a score of valuable historical and descriptive works appeared during this century. The writers of greatest merit in this class were: Alonso de Zamora, Francisco de Medrano, Juan Rivero and José Gumille of New Granada; José de Oliedo y Baños and José Luís Cisneros of Venezuela; Dionisio and Antonio de Alcedo (father and son) of Peru; Miguel de Olivares, Pedro C. Figueroa and Juan Ignacio Molina of Chile; Pedro Lozano, José Guevara, and Juan P. Fernández of the Río de la Plata area; and Francisco J. Alegre, Eusebio Francisco Kino (late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries), Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, Francisco Clavijero, Andrés Calvo, and Francisco Palóu of New Spain.

The period was also noted for the production of pure literature of some merit. Among the literati of the century, Antonio Valdés (author of the drama *Ollantay*), Manuel de Navarrete, and Manuel José Labardén (writer of the ode *Al Paraná* and the play *Siripio*) deserve mention.

Lastly, in art, music and architecture, considerable progress was made. Most of the leading cities of the colonies had their troupes of artists, and a school of fine arts was established in Mexico City near the end of the century.

The Spanish American colonies got off to a bad start socially because of the kind of people and politics involved. Spain was dominated by a psychology of militarism with pride and honor placed above industry and, by official policy, orthodoxy was more important than character. It was precisely those who had these characteristics who went out as colonists in largest numbers. The New World was especially attractive to the warlike and adventure-lover, to the greedy and the lazy. Hence, Spain's colonists came from the part of the population that was protected and favored because of its religion, not, as in the case of the thirteen Anglo colonies, those whose moral fibre had been tested by persecution for their faith.

These colonists were, immediately upon arrival, subjected to another demoralizing influence in the presence of the aboriginal population. One of the early results of the meeting of the two races was the beginning of the mixed-blood population — mestizos — born largely out of wedlock, a situation encouraged by two factors. Unmarried women were strictly prohibited by law from going to the colonies unless they were daughters or servants of migrating families. Furthermore, Spanish society and custom had more or less accepted the institution of *barraganía* mentioned previously. Finally, Charles V ordered that no obstacle be put in the way of marriage between Spaniards and Indians. Consequently, some conquistadors became frankly polygamous as has been attested even by treaties.

Although officials gave some attention to population statistics, there seemed to be no accurate figures, neither then nor today, at least not for all the countries. According to the best estimates, however, the total population of Spanish America was around 13,200,000 in 1788, some 15,000,000 in 1810 and possibly 16,785,000 in 1823. The latter date falls just before most of the Latin American countries had obtained their independence.

Economic stratification furnished the basis for sharply drawn class distinctions. In addition, there was a definite cleavage between the Peninsular Spaniards and the *criollos*. (Criollos are those of Spanish parentage who were born in the colonies.)

At the apex of the social hierarchy were the Peninsula-born Spaniards commonly called the *chapetones* or *gachupines*, numbering under 300,000 in 1800 but regarded as the bulwark of Spanish rule in America. They monopolized and had always monopolized, the highest offices in Church and State. They controlled the army and the universities; they were the viceroys, the captains general, the governors, the intendents, the judges in the *audiencias;* they were the archbishops and the bishops and the important officials of the cathedrals. They were also the leading proprietors of all business in the colonies. Not all of them, however, were wealthy and, in fact, some were poor and little better than vagabonds. But rich and poor alike looked with a certain amount of contempt upon the colonial born Spaniards. In the words of Humboldt, the most miserable European, without education or intellectual cultivation, thinks himself superior to all other white men in the new continent. This testimony is corroborated by others.

Below the Spaniards in the social scale were the *criollos*, numbering nearly 3,000,000 in 1800. They owned most of the *haciendas* and mines, as well as much urban property. They were among the best physicians, notaries and lawyers. They rushed eagerly into all the minor positions open to them in Church and State. They served as members of the town councils and frequently became judges or attorneys in the *audiencias*, but they were seldom permitted to become viceroys, captains general, intendents or bishops. The wealthy among them often purchased titles of nobility and made a great display of their riches. Yet the vast majority were not wealthy. All were equally disdainful of manual labor, and since there were comparatively few honorable and lucrative positions for them in the universities, the church hierarchy, the regular orders, the army and the civil service, they spent much time in litigation and between times entertained themselves with dances, festivals, drinking and gambling, and other forms of dissipation and vice.

Beneath the *criollos* were the mestizos, some 5,000,000 of them by the end of the century. Set off from the whites above and the Indians and Negroes below, some mestizos filled the humbler positions in the parishes, convents, and missions and became small proprietors, but the vast majority were to be found among the artisans and vagabonds of the towns and cities. Still others were employed as *mayordomos* (overseers) in the mines and on the vast estates. From this class came the artisans, petty merchants, professional beggars, small farmers and free, unskilled laborers of all sorts, such as the *peones* of Mexico, the *llaneros* of Venezuela, the *rotos* of Chile, and the *gauchos pobres* (poor gauchos) of Argentina. These people of the masses, who formed the great majority of the population, lived in poverty that frequently amounted to extreme wretchedness. Nearly all the wealth of the Indians was in the hands of the two upper classes, who desired to keep down the laboring element.

Beggars were numerous partly because the church made a virtue of indiscriminate alms-giving. Many of them were able-bodied professionals, not averse to receiving charity but too proud to work.

The contrast between the upper classes and the lower was greater for women than for men. Among the very lowly, the women were free, as far as publc opinion was concerned, to come and go as they pleased and to engage in all kinds of labor, including work in the mines. Their sex relations were often irregular in many cases because of the prohibitive marriage fees demanded by the clergy.

Girls and women of the upper ranks, however, and even those of the masses who had wealth enough to ape the upper class, were as sheltered as an Arabian harem. They seldom left the house except to go to Mass, or on an occasional shopping errand and then they concealed their faces with the *manta*. Marriage was arranged by the parents and the women generally made loyal and devoted wives and mothers, dutifully recognizing masculine superiority by indulging their sons and meekly accepting unfaithfulness on the part of their husbands.

They were well supplied with servants and spent much of their time in idleness. They killed the hours with empty gossip or needle work — the only kind of work that was not degrading. As Galdós indicated in his novel *Doña Perfecta,* the women, who were ignorant and illiterate, let the priests do their thinking for them. They gave little attention to intellectual interests and were well aware that most men preferred ignoramuses for wives.

Next in order down the social scale were the 7,500,000 Indians, still almost as numerous as all other classes combined. A few of them continued to reside in the missions, some dwelt in mountain fastnesses, some on communal lands, some roamed the forests and jungles, and all were detached and isolated and hence could hardly be considered a part of colonial society. Others were personal servants, some were common laborers, many were humble artisans in the cities and towns. A considerable number spent their lives trudging behind mule trains through tropical jungle and along mountain trails, poling rafts up and down rivers or as servants in the country inns. Many more were still under their chiefs in villages located near the mining areas or scattered over the vast estates of the *criollos* and Peninsula-born Spaniards. The *encomiendas* had been abolished as well as most of the *mitas* (allotments of Indians for forced labor), but the vast majority were still driven to work by masters who evaded the law or to whom they were indebted. And it cannot be said that the mission Indians were always free from forced labor and oppression. The wages of the natives were low, sometimes they were hardly paid anything at all. On the other hand, many of them had some spare time to work on their little community farms and gardens or in household industries carried on by the women for the most part. Poor, ignorant, sick, exploited by the conquerors, superstitious, much given to strong drink, or to chewing the coca leaf, often to still the pangs of illness, fatigue and hunger, they lived in their floorless, vermin-infested huts with their pigs, chickens and dogs in the tropical heat or the Andean cold. Almost unanimous testimony declares that they had failed to grasp the significant truths and lessons of the religion forced upon them, and from the Catholic and native cults they had compounded a religion of their own (the Cross and the Sun). Dramatic testimony may be seen in the combination of Pagan and Christian ceremonies practiced by the Indians on the steps of the Catholic Cathedral, on the Plaza de Armas in Chichicastenango, Guatemala. This is a sight seen by every tourist today. Rankling hatred and a spirit of insurgency sometimes appeared. Now and then leaders arose among them and reminded them of far-off happy days before the white men came. But such leaders were ostentatiously and ruthlessly slain or bought off by patents of whiteness or titles of nobility. Truly the position of the Indians was tragic and far worse than that of the lower classes of Europe, yet the Indians of Spanish America were still alive. Their exploitation was the huge sacrifice exacted in the interest of the ruling caste of the Old World for the development of the New World.

The burden of hard labor continued to oppress the Indians because Negro slavery never took deep root in the colonies. The Spanish slave code was comparatively humane, and there was a strong tendency toward emancipation. More than half the Negroes of Spanish America were free at the close of the Colonial Period, their freedom having been obtained mainly by purchase money earned during holidays and at other spare times. If their suffering ever was great, it was probably more from neglect than severity.

The vast difference in living conditions between upper and lower classes is obvious by this time. The lowest classes lived, then and now, in one-room huts made of thatched bamboo or mud and rock huts without windows, and doors closed by split bamboo venetian-like blinds or hangings of hides or rugs. Cooking was and is now, in rural sections, over stones surrounding a fire, indoors or out, and in earthen pots while the smoke finds its way out through the roof. Furniture consists of baskets, pottery water jugs, and woven reed mats (*petates*) for the floor. The gauchos on the pampas built with adobe, roofed with yellow pampas grass and closed the door with a bull hide — where they had a place to call home. Hides were used for hammocks and beds; bones driven into walls served as seats.

The manor house or *Casa del patrón* was the self-sufficient center of the *hacienda* in Mexico, or the *estancia* in Argentina and the *quinta* or *finca* elsewhere. The whole was thus the medieval estate of a feudal lord. Around them were gathered the farm buildings, huts for laborers, a chapel, a commissary, blacksmith shop, with the modern additive of a school, recreation center, clinic for first aid, perhaps a football team, and field. Occasionally the manor house reflects the Moorish style of architecture in the floor plan which provides for one or more interior patios, often tiled, for the purpose, as in the case of high ceilings, of making the home as cool as possible in hot climates.

The furnishings of these houses are rich, especially the city residences as in La Havana, Mexico City, Lima and Buenos Aires. They include expensive carpets and hangings, fine wood-carving, inlaid woodwork in ivory, mother of pearl, bone, hand carved and colored leather, oriental porcelain and ornaments and services of gold and silver.

In the tropics people get up early and sometimes retire early, and during the hottest part of the day take a siesta. The siesta is a necessary concession to the climate for the sake of health. Three meals a day are customary with time out for coffee at least twice a day. The poor eat when they can and today they suffer from malnutrition, undernourishment, or diseases of the tropics, tuberculosis, etc. The diet of the poor is obviously simple with little variation, meat for the Gauchos and cassava bread for the *llaneros*. Cereals, mostly rice, are the staple diet of the peon. In Mexico and Central America, maize is the staple from which *tortillas* are made. *Chicha* from maize and *pulque* from maguey are the intoxicating drinks that have come down from the remote period. Fruit grows profusely throughout the tropics, and may be had for the picking.

In cooking and diet Spanish tradition holds sway among the upper classes, but they also have developed a taste for native foods such as the yucca (similar to the potato) which may even be ground into a flour, corn, potatoes, the tortilla mentioned above, cocoa, chile and yerba mate. They also use the common eggs, fish, fowl, meats (usually fried), beans, onions, garlic, and pepper. Other vegetables are seldom used but the meal ends with a *dulce* or sweet dessert such as fruit, fresh or preserved, candies or *flan* (custard). Wine is served with meals because the water is not potable.

In dress, the low classes and aboriginals are little influenced by imported styles. The Church may have caused them to wear more, but the *poncho* and the *manta* continue to be popular.

At first the upper classes wore Spanish styles, but they adopted French styles when the Bourbon Phillip V ascended the throne in Spain. All those who had social aspirations were tremendously interested in dress which led to extravagance in clothing and jewels. There were attempts to moderate the extravagance through legislation, but the parade continued to the end of Spain's rule over the colonies.

The interest in dress did not result in more attention to personal cleanliness. Bathing was generally infrequent. The Mayas of Yucatán were cleaner than their white conquerors. Along with the extravagance in dress, there was a desire to satisfy personal vanity through the acquisition of titles. More than one *criollo* (son of Spanish parents born in New World) of humble origin bought one or more titles of nobility. Lesser public offices were bought for the social distinction that went with them.

Pastimes in the Indies were general and national in character, yet there were some of local origin. The country picnic (*pachamanca*) was popular in Chile and Peru; the planting and harvest cooperative festival was popular in the Plata region. While farmers and laborers worked, the women supervised the preparation of a festive meal. Horse racing and hoop-rolling (brought from Spain) were also popular. Handball was popular in Lima. Card playing, cock fighting, and bull fighting attracted large numbers of participants and bettors everywhere. Lotteries everywhere appealed to the desire to take a chance. Whether furnished by the guitar or an infrequent opera, music attracted everybody as did the occasional stage performances. Masquerades and dancing (especially of Moorish origin) were in favor. Later, the fandango became popular.

Banquets furnished the greatest opportunity for display. There were cafes where *nieve* (a refreshment made from ice and snow) was the treat for guests and is still the name for ice cream among Spanish Americans in New Mexico, Texas and Mexico. Another popular pastime was, and is, parading in the *Plaza de Armas* or *Parque Central* where fancy dress may be effectively displayed. In some cities it is called the *Retreta* with the girls walking arm in arm around the square in one direction and the boys in the other. If a boy is interested in a girl he performs the act known as *Dar Cuerda*, literally wind the clock meaning "give her the eye." The next or second time around he will about face, fall in beside her and take a few turns around the square with her.

The most absorbing diversions were the religious festivals, especially those celebrating the patron saint of the town, those connected with holy week, the founding of a town, the sixth of January or *Diá de los Reyes Magos*, independence, the *Posadas* at Christmas, and the *Fiestas Agustinas*. An important celebration in Mexico and Central America is *El día del Indio* or better known as *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* which originated in Mexico.

The End of Spain's Direct Influence

The close of the eighteenth century virtually brought to an end the constructive effort of Spain in America. The next twenty-five years were almost entirely occupied by the struggle which ended in independence. A critical evaluation of the work done by Spain will go far toward removing the black legend created by her colonial rivals, enemies and bi-partisan agitators of Spain and Spanish America. Yet the record is not as lily-white as some hispanophiles would have it appear.

Millions of natives had been preserved, but they owed their preservation in part to their usefulness at the bottom of the economic order. They served the same purpose in the New World as the Jews and Moors in Spain. The language of the mother country had been introduced and given a permanently predominant place. Yet millions of Indians could not write or even speak Spanish, and many others who knew the language preferred to employ their native tongues.

The establishment of mail systems had brought colonial minds into closer association. But communications were still very slow and uncertain, and private correspondence was difficult and unsafe. Roads adapted to carriages, wagons, or even ox-carts were few, and the ports and rivers were scarcely developed. Unlike Rome, Spain was not a noted builder of highways.

The land system had permitted or encouraged the concentration of larger agrarian holdings in the hands of the church and the nobility, who cultivated them in very different fashion. Many Indian villages continued to retain the community lands which Spanish authorities had carefully asigned them. But others had lost their communal lands and the great mass of people were landless. An aristocracy of wealth and privilege had been firmly established.

There were about twenty universities in existence in 1800 and these were probably sufficient in number to accommodate such of the upper classes as were able to attend them, even if the course of study was limited and defective. But comparatively little had been done to educate the masses.

Legal, judicial and administrative systems patterned on those of Spain had been set up, but political and geographical boundaries had been carelessly defined and this was to lead to endless difficulties in the future. Moreover, a multiplicity of officials, the widespread sale of offices, and traditions of bureaucratic dishonesty were an unfortunate inheritance for the new nations soon to appear.

Roman Catholic Christianity had been instilled, often to the point of fanaticism, into all the white and mestizo groups as well as into great masses of the natives. But numerous Indians had been imperfectly Christianized, if at all. Moreover, both Church and State had combined to restrict thought and scientific development and the Church, because of its wealth, its control over intellectual life, and its habit of participating in politics, was destined to an important, inflammatory and somewhat reactionary role in the future.

On the whole it was a rather depressing heritage, but it contained certain elements, either in theory or in practice, which pointed the way to a new regime. The Peruvian historian, Victor Belaunde, in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, sums it up in these words, "In spite of the difference in inspiration and the apparent contradiction in attendant circumstances, there is a certain connection between the highest human ideals of the revolution (namely, the Wars of Independence, 1810-25) and the deep and silent moral forces of colonial society." And he continues, "To political and civil equality corresponds, evidently, the moral equality of all the races which was proclaimed by various intellectual leaders in Spain since the time of the conquest and was the underlying principle of the best legislation of the Indies. To the idea of popular sovereignty . . . corresponds in essence the idea of kingdoms, practically national groups, that existed not only in the mind, but also in the vocabulary during the colonial period."

Nor should the inherited Spanish emphasis upon the artistic be forgotten. Impressive public buildings of both church and state as well as beautiful parks and patios filled with flowers, shrubs, and trees adorned the leading town. Some of the country-side, too, was given a romantic glamour by the stately homes of the planters, approached by avenues of palms, poplars, ceibas, sycamores, or other trees. This pattern of values was to continue into the national period, until many parts of Spanish America became as attractive and inspirational as any to be found elsewhere in the world. Even the poorest classes frequently exhibited good taste as well as good manners, and the most miserable dwellings were likely to be surrounded by flowers and shrubbery. Their innate hospitality and courtesy always welcomed the visitor. The major defect in the Spanish culture transmitted to America was not an absence of appreciation for the sentimental and the beautiful; it was a lack of emphasis on science, technology, civil liberty and an appreciation of the value of honest work.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Spanish America entered the second great period of its history. After the almost two centuries of comparative repose which followed the great and active era of discovery and conquest, the heroic energy of the race exerted itself once more in a long but successful struggle for independence and self-government. Portuguese America effected its separation from the mother country through the aid of a happy accident which made possible an almost bloodless transition. But the inhabitants of the French part of Española, actually the first of the Latin Americas to break away from Europe, achieved a two-fold emancipation only by means of a terrible war that passed through three phases consisting of an armed protest of mulattoes against racial discrimination, a murdeous insurrection of Negro slaves, and a combined revolt of mulattoes and Negroes against French rule.

The emancipation of the vast region extending from California, New Mexico, Texas, and the Floridas to Chile, the Río de la Plata countries, and Brazil, was an event of major importance in modern history. It was a great triumph of nationalism and republicanism, accompanied and followed by halting and hesitant advances toward individual liberty and equality of rights. It opened up an immense area to greater freedom of trade and more vigorous enterprise. It gave England, France, Anglo America and all the non-Hispanic world fuller access to Latin American resources.

The struggle for independence in the Spanish colonies began shortly after the turn of the nineteenth century. The early part of the struggle, however, had little if any success up to about the year 1817. During an equal period of about eight years immediately following 1817 the tide turned.

During the earlier period both the leaders and the people were uncertain as to their aims and purposes. Some thought they wanted one thing and others desired another. Objectives varied at different times and among the leaders so that it was never possible to know exactly what was wanted. In addition, the revolutionary armies had had no training, they were inexperienced and poorly equipped, and were sometimes betrayed by colonial loyalists. Almost no assistance was received from the outside before Spain sent to America a part of the seasoned army which had been opposing the French invaders of the motherland.

During the period after 1817, the colonial leaders were beginning to settle on objectives and to agree among themselves as to what they wanted. The ultimate aim decided upon was to win independence. The insurgent forces were much better trained and equipped at this time, partly as a result of increasing revenues, and assistance from abroad. Tariffs on expanding foreign trade brought in larger funds, foreign credits and loans were obtained, weapons were purchased from overseas surpluses, and foreign officers, soldiers, sailors and privateers helped give the colonials the push they needed to begin to win. Among other things, foreign sailors and privateers helped win control of the adjacent seas. The Napoleonic Wars were over and the war between the United States and England had come to an end. Consequently, military equipment was for sale and could be purchased at bargain prices, either for cash or on credit eagerly extended by speculators. The people of Europe and Anglo America, especially the military and merchant adventurers and the evangels of liberty, could give more attention to Spanish America. Finally, more capable officers and military commanders became available and they championed their cause of independence. Most of these officers had suffered defeat, exile, and loss of fortune. but those who survived had profited from their failures and developed their military talents to full maturity.

José de San Martín, a genius of an organizer and governor of the Province of Cuyo in Argentina, organized an army at Mendoza. A prominent Chilean who was to become the George Washington of his country, Bernardo O'Higgins, hastened to join San Martín.

The advance began early in 1817 and the revolutionary forces, after crossing the Andes, halted only four days before going to meet the enemy. They attacked and put to flight some 2,000 Spanish and loyalist soldiers at Chucabuco on 12 February 1817. O'Higgins was made Supreme Director of Chile and brought the northern part of the country firmly under control. It became necessary, however, to defeat the loyalists once more in southern Chile on 5 April 1818 at Maipú. Chile's independence was now secure.

San Martín then proceeded with plans for the liberation of Peru. He and O'Higgins purchased some ships and captured others for they knew that a land approach to Peru was not feasible. Over 5,000 sailors, marines and soldiers were transferred to southern Peru where San Martín casually set up a war of propaganda with printing presses. He knew he could not defeat the 20,000 loyalist soldiers militarily.

The propaganda was effective and the loyalists found their position in Lima untenable. They withdrew to the Andean heights where San Martín could not dislodge them for lack of sufficient forces.

In the meantime, Simón Bolívar, a brilliant campaigner who was to become a hero of the whole Spanish race, acquired an army and a small navy with military headquarters on the lower Orinoco at Angostura. From this point he tried repeatedly to gain a foothold in northern Venezuela and his failures finally caused him, like San Martín, to develop a daring plan. He would lead his army across the vast plains of Venezuela, over the Andes and make a surprise attack on Bogotá.

This long, perilous and costly march began in May, 1819. Not a single horse lived to reach the edge of the Cundinamarca Plateau and more than 1,000 officers and men perished. The remnant gathered new recruits and mounts and met the first detachment of royalists on 25 July 1819. On 7 August they routed the enemy's main forces at Boyacá, some sixty miles from the viceregal capital.

Boyacá was a decisive battle and the loyalists fled from Bogotá which the liberator occupied on 10 August 1819. At this time Bolívar set to work on his brain-child which kept him busy the rest of his life. His idea was to emancipate northern South America, and Peru and Charcas if necessary, and create *La Gran Colombia* which would include what are known today as Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru and the federation of all the Spanish colonies. He spent nearly two years in this work before military affairs demanded his attention again.

On 24 June 1821, the united revolutionary army, numbering over 6,000, soundly defeated a slightly smaller number of loyalists on the plains of Carabobo. Bolívar then hurried to Quito.

Before the Liberator got to Quito, however, Sucre had sailed from Colombia by sea, captured Guayaquil in Ecuador, marched up the mountains and won the decisive battle of Pichincha on 24 May 1882. A Spanish army of 11,000 had been defeated on the slopes of an extinct volcano some 14,000 feet above sea level, at Quito, by a military genius of only 27. Bolívar arrived three weeks later and went on to Guayaquil for the famous meeting with San Martín.

Although little is actually known of what took place during that conference on July 26 and 27, 1822, it proved unsatisfactory. Bolívar was possessed by his dream. San Martín had no political aspirations. He returned to Lima where he issued a sad farewell address and departed for Buenos Aires whence he set sail for Europe. He died in France in 1850.

With San Martín gone, the defeat of the Spaniards and their allies in the mountain strongholds of Peru became much more difficult. Bolívar and Sucre arrived in 1823 only to find Callao, the port for Lima, reoccupied and the Peruvian leaders quarreling among themselves. Nearly all of San Martín's army had gone home. It was not until the middle of 1824 that Bolívar and Sucre finally encountered the royalists at Junín on 6 August. This was a cavalry engagement with hardly a shot being fired, yet the enemy losses were large. The insurgents won an important battle in the history of independence.

Bolívar returned to the coast to stabilize matters there and Sucre took charge of field operations. On 8 December 1824, with an army of less than 6,000 Sucre defeated a force of well over 9,000 at the battle of Ayacucho. The terms of surrender included the withdrawal of all Spanish forces from Peru and Charcas. Sucre then transformed Charcas into a republic named Bolivia in honor of Bolívar.

Mexico chose the road to independence rather than risk political and social reform. Spain's revolution of 1820 precipitated another in the northern part of Latin America.

The viceroy had lost patience with the hunt for guerilla bands in southern Mexico and replaced the commander of the royalist forces. In his place the viceroy appointed Agustín de Iturbide who was of somewhat questionable character. He immediately betrayed the viceroy and entered into an agreement with the insurgents which was called *El Plan de Iguala*. It guaranteed three things: Unity among Mexicans of all classes; independence under a Bourbon Prince with his powers limited by a constitution; and protection of the Roman Catholic Church, its privileges, its functions, and its wealth. The *Plan de Iguala* was generally accepted and Iturbide with his combined armies entered Mexico triumphantly on 27 September 1821. But Spain refused to recognize any terms whereupon a national congress "elected" Iturbide Emperor of Mexico.

Central America now became a part of the Mexican Empire. But Iturbide soon got himself into trouble and was quickly placed before the firing squad. Central America then broke away from the Empire. A confederation was formed in 1823 consisting of the five provinces into which the colonial captaincy general had been divided: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. This confederation lasted some fifteen years and was governed by two chief executives, José Arce and Francisco Morazán. When the United Provinces of Central America broke up, two of them — Costa Rica and El Salvador — petitioned for admission to the American Union as states.

With the fall of Morazán and the break-up of the confederation, the five sovereign republics of Central America came into being. But the ideal of unity has survived and has recently been revived in the form of a customs or an economic union which has already proved to be of great benefit to the countries involved.

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Chapter VII

Independence And Its Problems

The Contrast

In eastern North America there were thirteen colonies which, along with a huge back country extending across the continent to the Pacific, became consolidated after a long period of political struggle, and a four-year civil war, into a single powerful nation. The Spanish colonies, stretching all the way from the Río Bravo to the Strait of Magellan, were fewer in number yet they broke up into eighteen smaller and weaker nations for the most part. This affords a striking contrast and is particularly significant in the history of the Americas.

There were only eight or ten Spanish colonies in the New World at the end of the colonial epoch. Although these colonies embraced an area of 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 square miles, their population hardly exceeded 16,000,000.

Men of ambition and foresight felt that these old colonial jurisdictions provided the sinews for only a few strong nations and acted on this conviction. But efforts at consolidation failed everywhere. Spanish America drifted into chaos after expelling the colonial authorities. Iturbide's Mexican Empire split into two turbulent parts, and one of these, the Confederation of Central America, broke up into five within twenty years after its separation from Mexico. Bolívar's *La Gran Colombia* dissolved in 1830 into Venezuela, Ecuador and New Granada. Santa Cruz' Peru-Bolivian confederation lasted less than four years (1835-39). The incipient new nation of the Plata region, Argentina of today, lost Paraguay, Bolivia and the Banda Oriental (Uruguay), and for two decades threatened to erupt into a dozen petty states. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of eastern Española won their independence after twenty years of Haitian rule and established the tiny Dominican Republic in 1844.

So it was that Spanish America split up into sixteen sovereign nations in less than a quarter of a century after its emancipation from Spain. Including Brazil and Haiti, the total was eighteen, and the aggregate rose to twenty-one with the liberation of Cuba in 1898, the secession of Panama in late 1903, and the addition of Guyana in 1967, although the sovereignty of Cuba and Panama was somewhat curtailed by the U.S. for over three decades. In striking contrast with the trend in Anglo-America, ten or twelve colonies had become twenty nations, the largest of them Brazil which had a population of less than 8,000,000 in 1850 and hardly more than 17,000,000 half a century later.

In addition to the serious international problems described above — the two-fold task of determining the number of nations into which Latin America should be divided and establishing the boundaries of each — the leaders of the young nations confronted almost insurmountable domestic problems. Important among these were such issues as monarchy versus republic, the place of the Roman Catholic Church in the new order, centralism versus local autonomy (usually described as federalism), liberty versus tyranny, the proper distribution of the land, and the rights of labor in the growing economy.

At the very beginning political leaders were confronted with the problem of selecting the form of government deemed most appropriate for the people of their various countries. Here again the contrast with Anglo-America was striking.

Seemingly without hesitation, the founders of the United States adopted the republican form of government and advanced gradually toward the democratic republic. Although it is said that some of General Washington's officers urged him to become king and that some of the members of the Philadelphia Convention favored a constitutional monarchy, this type of government was certainly never very seriously considered. The inhabitants of the thirteen colonies had gained political experience through long participation in local government and membership in colonial legislative bodies. In considerable measure they had governed themselves for many years, and it was not difficult to admit that they were qualified for self-government.

The liberated peoples of Latin America had a totally different background, and their leaders acted with far less confidence. The Spanish Americans and their ancestors had known only monarchical government, and this in its most absolute form. They had taken almost no part in political affairs either in the Middle Ages or during the long colonial period except in the municipalities. There were no colonial legislatures. They had had nothing worthy of the name of experience in public administration. They had no way of knowing what an election was. They lacked homogeneity in race, culture and ideals. The vast majority belonged to the primitive and mixed races which had been held in slavery or serfdom for centuries. They comprised Negroes, mulattoes, Indians, and mestizos, ragged, barefoot and ignorant. In nearly all the new states only a small percentage of the inhabitants were Caucasians, and not a few of these were illiterate or fanatically intolerant. Local loyalties, racial and cultural diversities, caste and class distinctions tended to produce animosities and social conflict. The various castes and racial groups, the scattered settlements, were conscious of almost no common interests or ideals. It will be recalled that this is the situation that existed in Spain down to the sixteenth century when Spaniards began to emigrate to the New World.

Moreover, the trend in Europe at this time was not toward popular government. A conservative reaction was sweeping away the institutions set up a few years before by men inspired by the English liberal thinkers of the seventeenth century and the French *philosophes* of the eighteenth. The existence of the only government in continental Europe that resembled a democracy, the Swiss Confederation, was threatened by France and the Holy Alliance. Absolute monarchs sat upon thrones almost everywhere save in England, where the king's power was limited by a parliament far from democratic. In the whole Western World there was only one republic, the United States of North America, and its future was beclouded by internal dissension. The founders of the Latin American nations could find little to recommend government of the people, by the people, and for the people either in the broad panorama or in the narrower domestic setting.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the leaders of the new nations hesitated to adopt the republican form of government. There were few, however, who preferred an absolute monarchy for the memory of Bourbon oppressions were too vivid. But there were advocates of a constitutional monarchy in all the main centers of population from Mexico to Argentina. Many men of wealth and social position, white men of Spanish or Portuguese descent as a rule, dreaded the consequences of placing political power in the hands of the primitive, racially mixed and unlettered masses, and consequently favored a limited monarchy or an aristocratic republic. This was especially true of the outstanding military leaders. Although Bolívar refused all offers of a crown, he was not opposed to an oligarchic republic, and both Antonio de Sucre and Bernardo O'Higgins agreed with him. José F. de San Martín, Bernardo Rivadavia, and Agustín de Iturbide were monarchists, and top flight army officers toyed for decades with the idea of a lifetime presidency.

Only three nations of Latin America, however, ever ventured to experiment with the monarchical system: Brazil, Mexico and Haiti. All the rest chose some type of republic. Independent Brazil had two monarchs in succession; Mexico had an equal number, with forty years of so-called republican government between them; and Haiti had three, with twenty-nine years of "republican" administration between the second and third. Monarchy was not finally discarded in Haiti until 1859, nor in Mexico until 1867, nor in Brazil until 1889. Kings might have been set up in some of the other countries if qualified princes willing to come to America could have been found and agreed upon by all the parties concerned. But the royal families of Europe and the monarchists of America had difficulty in reaching agreement. At the same time, the United States, while rather friendly toward the royal government of Brazil, was opposed to the establishment of monarchy elsewhere in the New World. In the end, the monarchs of Latin America came to a tragic end. Brazil's were deposed and sent into exile; Mexico's were overthrown and executed; Haiti's were disposed of in various ways: one was assassinated, another committed suicide in order to avoid capture by an enraged populace; and the third was deposed and banished.

Independent Latin America has been a land of constitutions. All of its royal governments were supposed to be limited by constitutions, which are, of course, a necessary part of the republican system. The republics of this region had a plethora of them over the years because few fundamental charters survived for more than a decade. There was nothing to hinder the eager fondness to write, compose, edit and polish to produce a fine specimen for publication in print. And what better object to practice on than such a high and important document as a constitution — this really magnified the personality. But who was so brash as to expect it to be carried out afterwards? No other part of the world had more or observed them less. Political practice seldom harmonized with political theory. The actual system of government was usually quite different from that prescribed by the charter. Haiti's constitutional monarchs were tyrants without exception; so was the first one in Mexico and in Brazil. Mexico's Maximilian was far more respectable than Iturbide, but the former had no opportunity to display his talents in politics. Only Brazil's Pedro II was outstanding for his moderation and statesmanship. Elsewhere in Latin America the constitutional presidents were mainly dictators in spite of the fundamental law that was supposed to hedge their power.

The republican constitutions defined with great care the functions and powers of government and usually contained liberal personal guarantees, such as freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of occupation and movement, and equality before the law. Only religious toleration was lacking in most of the early constitutions, and even that was provided for in later ones. But the democratic republics, like the constitutional monarchies, were nearly always confined to the paper on which the constitutions were written. In practice they were governed more or less as had been the colonies, according to the absolutist tradition. Men called presidents, or by some other title, frequently governed as tyrannically as if they had been viceroys or captains general. Elections were seldom either free or fair — for many years suffrage was usually limited to adult males having property or the ability to read and write. Bills of rights were no more respected than other provisions of the constitutions. Nor, as a rule, was the general welfare conceived to be the primary purpose of government. Clever and ruthless army officers or civilians, with a trophy concept of public office, seized the government in order to use it for themselves and their small cliques. This was especially unfortunate in

Latin America, where the people lacked capital, technical skill, and talent for the management of large scale enterprises, which consequently had to be launched by the government, either directly or through contracts with foreign captalists. As in Spain the practicing technicians had to be imported. Often the ruling official came to office imbued with the idea that the country was his private preserve to be developed as he saw fit, a carry-over from Roman administration. In some cases he actually came close to owning a large measure of it legally before the expiration of his term of office.

In spite of what has been said above, it should not be assumed that there was no idealism in Latin America during the early national period. On the contrary, many have argued that there was too much of it, pouring in from France and the United States, too much perfectionism, and too little ability to make practical applications, to adapt and to compromise. Fundamentally, politics everywhere is a struggle for power, a continual contest for the control of government. The democratic ideal requires that the struggle shall proceed without violence and according to honorable rules and that the winners shall be compelled to serve the national interest — a high standard rarely attained in any country and too seldom approached by those of Latin America. Because of the handicaps of colonial heritage, racial and cultural diversity, and mountain and jungle topography, the demands of the single task of maintaining order often left little energy or resources for other public services. Nevertheless, in spite of these handicaps, and in spite of the strong militaristic tendencies developed by the wars for independence and the petty international conflicts that followed, a little humanitarianism was sometimes compounded with the prevailing ignorance, brutality and selfishness.

With the view of enlisting the blacks in the armies, but also because slavery was considered a great evil, there began with the outbreak of the wars for independence a halting movement to emancipate the Negro slaves in Spanish America — there were at this time probably not more than 300,000 of them, outside of Española, Puerto Rico and Cuba. Later, children of slaves were declared free at birth, although retained by the masters in a sort of apprenticeship until they were grown. Complete emancipation was proclaimed in Chile in 1823, in Central America in 1824, in Bolivia in 1826, in Mexico (excluding Texas) in 1829, in Uruguay in 1846, and in all the independent countries of Spanish America except Paraguay by the end of 1854. While Negro slaves were neither numerous nor urgently needed because of the bountiful supply of Indian and mestizo serfs, their emancipation in some parts of Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela was no doubt considered a real sacrifice to humanitarian ideals. In Brazil where the black slaves formed a much larger segment of the total labor force, emancipation made little progress until 1871 and was not completed until 1888, after it became evident that European immigrants, particularly Italians, could be depended upon for a labor supply. Yet at one time there was a purposeful attempt to suit the people to the geography. An experiment in directed miscegenation was carried out for a generation or two to produce a people who could efficiently take advantage of the vast natural resources in the extremely hot and humid tropical jungle regions. The Negro's ability to stand the climate and the Portuguese intelligence ought to combine in a race that would comfortably and effectively develop the tropical wealth of the nation.

Humanitarianism was less evident in the case of the Indians and mestizos. By enlisting in the armies during the struggle for liberation from Spain some of the Indians obtained exemption from the tributes that had oppressed them since the early days of the conquest, but this discriminatory levy was not generally abandoned until after the middle of the century. Service in the army was a means utilized also by other members of the lower class to improve their lot — it provided a channel of social mobility. But, in general, the oligarchy of landowners, mining operators, clergymen, army officers, merchants, and the learned professions who took charge of the new nations after the expulsion of the Europeans exhibited little interest in the welfare of the masses. Here and there, some zealot, like Alexandre Pétion in Haiti following 1810, Bernardo Rivadavia in Argentina in the 1820's the Mexican Benito Juárez in the 1850's, or Tomás Guardia in in Costa Rica in the 1870's might give serious consideration to a wider distribution of the land. In general, however, significant agrarian and labor reforms were long postponed in most countries, and in many of them they were not even attempted. Debt peonage or some other system differing little from serfdom was prevalent in a majority of the nations until well after 1900.

If a fair appraisal is to be made, however, it should always be remembered that the task of retaining power and keeping order was so all-absorbing that almost no attention could be given to the promotion of the general welfare. Ambitious and intolerant leaders of the opposition, when not attempting to seize the national government, were busy trying to rule their own provinces and mending political fences. Champions of local autonomy abounded in every country, and it was almost impossible to govern the nations as a whole, if for no other reason, because there were no communications. Local chiefs had to be suppressed or paid off again and again. The federal system of government was sanctioned by the constitutions at one time or another in all the larger nations. Even when the fundamental law provided for a "unitarian" or centralist system, the local bosses—called *caudillos*—often continued to rule their provinces and not infrequently tried to use them as a means of extending their dominance over the entire republic. The majority of Mexico's republican constitutions adopted federalism, Argentina's fundamental charter of 1853 sanctioned this system, and Venezuela seems to have adopted it permanently in in the 1860's. New Granda became the Grenadine Confederation in the 1850's and the United States of Colombia in 1863, but renounced federalism by the constitution of 1866. Brazil, where provincialism and sectionalism were strong from the outset, became a federal republic after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1889. The doctrine of "States Rights" in Latin America, whatever may have been true elsewhere, was not based solely on principle; it was a slogan wielded in a struggle for power which diverted the energies of the national governments from constructive policies that might have improved the public services and stimulated the economy.

The Habit of Revolution

The Anglo American often wonders why there are such frequent revolutions in Latin America. This is a case in which numbers are deceiving and, what is more important, a definition or an explanation of the term and its use is needed.

With reference to numbers, the first fact is that there are twenty-two Latin American republics. This is not new, but it can very well be that while one country is having a "revolution" the other twenty-one are quiet and peaceful. In other words, during a period of twenty years each country could have one revolution and it would seem, perhaps, that the entire New World was in roaring rebellion all the time. Yet the fact is that each country would enjoy twenty-one years of peace and tranquility.

The use, or misuse, of the term "revolution" is even more revealing. Anglo America holds an election and the result is what is called a change of administration if a different party comes into power. In Latin America, when there is a change of administration, the methods are frequently different. The changes are not always the result of an election. Because of this variation from Anglo American methods — and ethnocentrism — the newspapers must find a derrogatory term to apply to the change. Since they thrive on sensationalism they seize upon the term "revolution" which, to Anglo Americans, means or implies a terrible, bloody struggle and sacrifice to the last man as portrayed by accounts of Anglo American history. Hence, when there is a change of government in one of the other American republics the newspapers appear with banner headlines, "Revolution in Latin America."

What actually happens is that the opposition eventually builds up sufficient support among the proper sectors of the population and finds itself strong enough to force out the party in power. The leaders, or their lieutenants, then appear at the *Palacio Nacional* or the government office building, arrest the officials and either imprison them or put them aboard a plane, if they have not already seen the handwriting on the wall and left the country with as much of the treasury as they could carry off. The oppositon now becomes the party in power, and the ousted party, or another, begins planning for the day when another similar coup may put them back in office. This is, more often than not, the way in which a change of administration is brought about and is what is referred to by newspapers as a revolution. True, occasionally there are real revolutions, but many of these are no bloodier than an election that took place in Tennessee not many years ago when a number of voters were shot and killed. The writer has gone through a number of so-called revolutions in Latin America and only once were there any outward signs of the state of affairs. The only person who was shot or killed was the one who refused to obey the established peacetime law. The police had fired a warning shot in his direction and he literally collided with the bullet and was killed.

For the sake of historical accuracy, however, it must be admitted that there are more changes of government or "revolutions" in Latin America than are prescribed by the constitutions and there still remains the need for an explanation.

The varied attempts at finding and setting forth the causes have included some rather bizarre reasoning as well as some that come closer to the truth. One historian based an explanation on the tropical light. According to the statements in the history referred to, the light in Latin America is of such intensity as to make the people extremely nervous. This in turn keeps them changing their governmental officials with disorderly order. That Latin Americans, in general, are not nervous, much less extremely so, will be shown in a later chapter.

Others have blamed the frequent changes on one or another of several factors, such as poverty, illiteracy, climate, the Indians, and class conflict. Let it be understood first that changes in administration have been growing slowly but steadily less frequent Costa Rica had not had a "revolution" in more than a century, and then broke the record in mid-twentieth century only to revert to stability again. Mexico has long been a stable country enjoying democratic processes to the full. Cuba had been in a similar condition until Fidel Castro took over. Other countries are following in the same trend.

There still remains the problem, however, of explaining the frequency of unconstitutional changes that do take place. This requires, among other things, that we recall the early history of both Spain and the New World. It will be remembered that Spain did not become unified until 1492, and then only by virtue of the marriage of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand. In other words, this union was personal and not genuinely political. There was still no feeling of unity, of oneness among all the people who made up the kingdom of Spain. The one and the only factor that gave them a common bond was their religion. But even this, as we have seen, created a caste system among

Christians, Muslems and Jews, which, although it was about to break down because of the expulsion of the Jews and the defeat of the Moors, would carry over for centuries and is still having its influence on everyday life. It will also be recalled that, not only was there no unity in the Iberian Peninsula, but municipalities and feudal states were the common political unit and were, in the main, autonomous. It will be remembered, too, that any representatives that did function in those times did so as representatives of special groups, not of the common, general good. Then there was, too, the spirit of separatism and the characteristic Messianic attitude. The leaders or the officials, tacitly accepted as such, were those who were recognized by the people as having the required talents and ability. In most cases, however, these qualifications were attributed to the most wealthy in the community. They were also individuals from families of long standing in the community, perhaps with a claim to Gothic ancestry. These individuals, singly or in groups, administered the public affairs. There were few elections and very little public participation in the affairs of the community except on a small scale where there was a *cabildo*, something on the order of a town hall meeting with a city council as an administrative body. In most cases — municipalities, feudal states, barronial estates, etc. — there was one individual to whom everyone looked for leadership, the administration of justice, the treatment of illness, the maintenance of order, charity, etc. These leaders were feudal lords or kings within the boundaries of their jurisdictions.

Thus it is evident, as we have seen earlier, that the people who explored, discovered and colonized the New World had not been accustomed, in a practical sense, to loyalty to a political administrative unit, at least not one any larger than a municipality or a feudal estate. They had had no participation in governmental affairs, they did not know what an election was and, in fact, had learned over the centuries to give allegiance to a leader, to follow the leader, as it were, and to be told what to do.There had been several kingdoms such as Castile, Aragón, León, Navarra, etc., but these again were not closely knit, and their monarchies did not train the population for democracy. Neither was there any training in ideology or what today are called political or party platforms. Hence, people followed and fought for leaders, leaders whose magic power of the eye could appeal to the Messianic hope and mesmerize the people into following his leadership. Until recent centuries they had practiced an ancient tradition which required warriors to commit suicide if their leader was killed. In more modern times, and although they had fought for religious ideals at home and in the crusades, they had no concept of supporting, much less fighting for, political ideas, revolutions to the contrary notwithstanding. They followed leaders or friends or the one who offered the most in booty or political spoils. More important than all these, however, is the Messianic attitude that was set forth in Chapter IV.

There were other factors of character and personality, psychology and innate philosophy, and most of all a traditional organization of the family unit, which also had an important bearing on the causes of frequent administrative changes. These are discussed at the appropriate time elsewhere. Suffice it to summarize by saying that centuries of sometimes bloody history that developed deeply rooted tradition prepared the sixteenth century colonizer and settler of Latin America perhaps for monarchy, anarchy or oligarchy, but most certainly not for democracy or self-government.

When the Spaniard came to the New World during the colonial period he found in existence political conditions very similar to those into which he had been born. The Indian kings, chiefs or emperors, whether Nahuatl, Aztec, Chibcha, Chimu, Inca or Araucanian, ruled over their subjects through an office inherited by virtue of belonging to the ruling family or through other equally undemocratic means of acquiring power. There was always the single individual who ruled over all from a great distance of prestige and attributed honor, or one who, closer at hand, ruled over ten families or more, but always the single individual who had power, who led all, who exercised all power or who delegated power. There was no election or selection by the people, there was no popular participation, even by small groups, in public administration. In other words, here again as in Spain pre-Columbian custom and tradition had prepared the masses for followership of one leader and not for voting, democracy or self-government. In fact, this was true to such an extent that it gave rise to the term *caciquismo* meaning political leadership by a *cacique* or Indian chief which was later applied to any small group leader.

It now requires no great stretch of the imagination to comprehend the inevitable result when two such identical political mentalities intermingled in the New World by virtue of colonization by Spain. With two nearly identical political heritages intermingling and compounded by the Messianic spirit of the Spaniard there could be only one outcome — overwhelming odds in favor of reinforcing and continuing the traditional heritage, not of democracy or self-government, but of "followership." And as if the devil still had not had his full measure, the matter is compounded and confounded even more by two made-to-order factors. One of these is the to-be-expected illiteracy for, to be heroically trite, democracy requires an enlightened people. The other factor is the result of colonial policy on the part of the Spanish monarchs and their New World representatives.

The *encomienda* system made the Indians slaves and serfs of the Spanish nobles, conquistadores and colonizers who were awarded large grants of land and all that was thereon in exchange for their deeds in exploration and colonization. The Indians, reduced to hard labor, mainly in mines, and in many cases worked and starved to death, became more stoical, taciturn and morose. Today they are also suspicious and uncommunicative in the presence of the white man. Taken all together, these conditions render communications and education difficult and democracy virtually impossible. Therefore, in many countries it is impossible for the ruler to rule regardless of the type of government.

With the scarce and inefficient means of communication and the lack of population in each country, with political factors as described above, there can hardly be but one outcome. A president, as the chief of state is presently called, finds, upon assuming the powers of government, that physical and financial limitations, geography, a thin and scattered population and political expediency in addition to motives of self-interest all combine to prevent his carrying out some or many of the promises made to his followers as a candidate. Consequently, many followers close at hand, in the capital city, soon become disillusioned and this soon turns to disappointment and bitterness and finally becomes a desire to remove the chief of state from office and replace him as in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, as we shall see, Spanish Americans are idealistic — especially about revolutions.

It is difficult for the Anglo American to understand this idealistic concept of revolution. It is abhored, outwardly, by the Spanish American who readily admits that those of the past have all been failures even though they have succeeded in overthrowing the government, yet he is always enthusiastic about a new one. This one will be different from all others, and there will be no more because this one will remove the underlying causes of discontent. Hence, he is eager to help win it. There is also another aspect of this idealism. The ones who suffer most, the uneducated, lower class, have an undying faith that life can be changed by one man, and this faith, like the sphinx, is irrepressible. Consequently, the people who support revolutions go into them in an ecstacy of almost hypnotic enthusiasm that hardly knows what it does. It is the next thing to a blind religious faith.

It is this blind, idealistic enthusiasm that carried the Spaniards through the tremendous and impossible feats of conquest and exploration; that led them through fearful, unknown, uncharted jungles and swamps, over insurmountable mountain barriers to an unknown destination that harbored unimaginable dangers and perhaps death, yet turned out to be the claiming of a New World, the discovery of the Mississippi River, and of the Pacific Ocean, the conquering of far superior numbers in Indian armies and savage tribes and far-flung expanses of territory.

So it is that some of the men immediately surrounding the current ruler become dissidents and begin to plot a new revolution. The idealistic concept comes into play once again. In the meantime, some disappointed henchmen or opponents in the provinces have been building, not a political machine, but a following consisting of friends and relatives, and friends of friends. One or more of these leaders soon becomes strong because the people, too, have been disappointed when they saw all the benefits of government enjoyed mostly in the capital city. Outlying cities and provinces receive whatever is left over, if anything, and become resentful. This resentment is expressed in the cry "*Lima no es El Perú,*" or "*Quito no es el Ecuador,*" which mean that the capital city is not the whole country. This is filled with many times more meaning and bitterness and resentment than the Anglo American's cry that "New York City is not the U. S. A." Hence, to disillusionment are added disappointment, bitterness and finally a rebellious desire for change. When leaders of town and country find a community of interests they join forces. There is no political program, no party platform, no urge to support or fight for an ideology; only the desire to overthrow the present administration and put in its place the current favorite leader so that he may bring about all the repeatedly desired, idealistic changes and make the nation a garden of Eden.

Obviously, there is no habit or custom of electing a president and letting him serve out his allotted term, of giving him a chance to show what he can do by carrying out his program. Results must be produced immediately — not over the long range. Impatience soon sets in. Hence, governmental administrations may succeed each other rapidly and frequently did during the first century of independence. Fortunately, the speed of these changes has been decreasing, and there is promise for the future, especially in view of the recent history of some of the countries, notably Mexico and Costa Rica. The intensity of the light in Latin America is the photographer's delight, but not necessarily a flash in the political pan.

There are only three great national political parties in Latin America: the radical party in Argentina, the Aprista party in Peru, and the Christian Democrats in Chile. Mexico had what may also be called a fourth party, and we stop here unless we wish to include Fidel Castro's Communist party in Cuba.

Toledo in *Partidos políticos de Iberoamérica* adds the Democratic Action Party in Venezuela, the National Revolutionary Movement in Bolivia besides the Communist Parties. As Zea says, however, these parties take on their names, within them new ideas are discussed and they may even seem to be guided by new philosophies. Yet, in the background the past remains alive, or is latent and will spring to life and assume the ruling role at the first lax moment. These were only new names which disguised old problems while the rest of the world passed by marching toward progress. The important point is that today, although they still follow their leaders, there is beginning to take form something in the nature of party policy or platform. There is considerable agreement on the ideal of taking the governing power away from the wealthy upper class. This class has enjoyed the controlling power since colonial times and it has been to their interest to keep the masses oppressed economically and suppressed politically. The lower class votes as their employers, or their leaders, tell them to.

In summary, it may be pointed out that since the time of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, or since the time of the Aztecs and the Incas, there has been slow but positive improvement in the exercise of political rights in Spanish America. There is the right to vote, for both men and women, elections are held and political parties are beginning to take form with appropriate ideologies. The momentum of improvement will increase as the population grows, as communications become more efficient, as education reaches more people and as illiteracy decreases.

The Church-State Issue

Conflict and disorder were the result almost everywhere of Church-State relations, especially in Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Ecuador, where no other issue stirred up as much nor as profound bitterness. Here in the New World are re-enacted Europe's religious conflicts of an earlier age.

A leading role had been played by the Roman Catholic Church during the long colonial period and at its end was not only influential, but wealthy. It engaged in many activities of a social, political and economic nature as well as religious. It was the sole practitioner in such religious rites as baptism, worship, wedding ceremonies and was the official agency for the registration of births and deaths, it had charge of funerals, graveyards, administration of oaths, religious processions and festivals, holiday celebrations, frontier missions, education, hospitals, charity and banking. It possessed not only an immense number of buildings for public worship and for housing religious orders, but vast tax-exempt holdings of urban and rural real estate used for strictly business purposes, many industrial enterprises, and mortgages on extensive properties owned and managed by laymen. Besides its large income from these sources, it also received considerable sums in the form of gifts, tithes and fees. In short it controlled a goodly portion of the wealth of Latin America and enjoyed not only tax exemption, but special courts for both civil and criminal cases involving clergymen.

That the Church was immersed to such a far-reaching extent in the economic and industrial affairs of the new nations, even before they attained their independence, should be no cause for surprise. It will be recalled that as far back as the early invasions of the Iberian peninsula, the Goths had refused to engage in agriculture. Then, from the beginning of the re-conquest down to 1492, it was the Jews who carried on the business affairs of the people who were to become the

Spanish nation. It was the Moors who did all the farming, practiced all the trades and crafts and preserved the administrative organization on the lower plane. In short, the Spanish people themselves had had no experience or training in business or trades and, what is more, they did not want it. Consequently, the real bases of the nation, in Spain or in the New World, that is, the economics and the agriculture, had to be carried on by others. Lacking these, the Church stepped in or immigration was encouraged.

As a rule, the Church had been dominated during the colonial epoch by the royal authorities who used it as a means of social control and as an agent of colonial expansion. With minor exceptions, its high officials had opposed the movement for independence. After independence, they attempted to free the Church from the control of the civil power. In fact, they went even further in some instances. Participating actively in politics and frequently holding public office during the early national period, they tried to control the State and make it the servant of the Church.

It is likely that many clergymen, assuming that they alone were the servants of God and the true friends of mankind, sincerely believed that they were entitled to rule the people as well as to serve them in their capacity of religious and moral guides. But the majority of the political and military leaders viewed the matter in a different light. They did not believe that the State should become the instrument of the Roman Catholic Church. They felt, on the contrary, that the State should be the supreme authority in the nation, and, in societies where the Church impinged on the life of the people at every point and enjoyed an immense income, they sought to make a place for the civil authority and find revenues to implement its expanding functions.

The conflict involved both ideals and interests. In part it was a struggle for revenues, power, property, prestige and for the creation of conditions that would attract immigrants accustomed to religious toleration. In part, it was a struggle for greater intellectual freedom, the curtailment of special privileges, and the creation of wider opportunities for at least some of the people. In the end, the functions, privileges and wealth of the Church were reduced in the interest of those whom it governed, provided the State was able and willing to use its power in their behalf. In most instances, however, all that the people obtained from the expensive, bloody and prolonged conflict was a little more freedom in religion — in which they were not seriously interested, since they were content to remain Roman Catholics — and somewhat broader opportunities for education. The Church properties taken over by the State were not widely distributed. They fell into the hands of the oligarchy and continued to be almost as immune from taxation as they had been under the Church, and almost as inalienable.

The Church-State issue was mainly responsible for the origin of the two most important political parties — factions would perhaps be a more precise description — formed during the early national period, the liberals and the conservatives or the clericals. The conservatives, as a rule, insisted on the exercise of the *patronato* — the right to participate in the selection of high officials of the Church, to be consulted on the formation of new ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and to pass upon papal documents before they were circulated within the national domain — and made slight encroachments on the traditional functions in education and in some other fields, but were willing to call a halt at that point provided the Church revealed a disposition to contribute to the party chest in times of stress. More under the influence of French radicalism and usually from a somewhat less affluent and aristocratic stratum of society, the Liberals seem to have lost favor with the powerful members of the clergy from the beginning. For partisan as well as for other reasons they were soon demanding not merely the exercise of the patronage but the abolition of nearly all the traditional functions of the Church, the suppression of the religious communities, and the seizure of Church properties that were not being utilized for strictly religious purposes. By the middle of the nineteenth century, these two parties, divided on other issues but espcially with reference to the place of the Church in the national regime, had come into being in practically every country.

Much of the history of the Latin American countries has been characterized by disorder. While there were variations from nation to nation, the early decades were fairly equally divided between dictatorship and military anarchy. Nor can it be repeated too often that the major factors tending to produce both were the Iberian heritage; habits established during and before the colonial epoch; conflicts of religion, race, class and caste; geography and the lack of communications; the prolonged struggle for independence and national domains.

Absolutism and separatism were traditions of hoary centuries of standing. The colonial populations had been accustomed for centuries to the despotism of viceroys and captains general, and to the imposition of their own authority as masters and labor bosses over the working class below. The Indians, the largest racial group in many countries, had long been dominated by local tyrants, *caciques*, native chiefs or priests who had been allowed to survive as instruments of social control. The Negroes and mulattoes, numerically predominant in Española and a significant element in Venezuela, Colombia and some of the other tropical regions, were slaves and servants. Too many members of the upper class were determined after independence to occupy dominant positions in the government. Few were willing to accept subordinate roles, and while the aristocracy was not numerous, there were not enough high posts for all either in Church or State. Again there was the long tradition of the *caballero* and of caste or class and of seeking a patron or public office rather than to lower oneself to work. Furthermore, the power drive among army officers was overwhelming and they could not be reconciled to the obscurity that civilian rule would impose upon them. In a region where a multiple series of wars had to be fought for independence and the delimitation of national boundaries, the shackles of militarism were firmly fastened upon the people. The ignorant, impoverished and morose masses, lacking the intelligence — or education — to perceive their own best interests, could not resist the recruiting officers or the seductive appeals of men on horseback with their brilliant uniforms, provocative slogans, and promises of loot and redemption — just as in the days of *Mío Cid* — and form and flashing pomp always have their appeal. The sword had been the arbiter for so long that it was difficult to find or even envisage any other. Government by the counting of ballots at the polls or in legislative assemblies appeared inane and absurd, without glamour, to men lacking the democratic tradition and experience in democratic procedures. It seemed more heroic and dramatic to determine issues with sabre and machete, pistol and musket for this stance magnified the individual personality. The vanquished faced the rising sun and the firing squad like martyrs or pined away in nostalgic exile. (It is said that the list of exiles identifies the intellectuals.) And the anarchy of passion and imperious wills was fostered and protected by geography. The centers of settlement in nearly every country were widely scattered or surrounded by mountain walls (as in Spain), parched deserts or matted jungle, and lack of efficient means of transportation made them so difficult to reach from the main seat of government that disobedience and insurgency could not be suppressed in their incipient stages. These factors combined with the Spaniard's innate unwillingness to submit to law and order made stability and unification impossible.

The result of all this was an almost perpetual crisis. When the crisis did not arise from domestic conditions it was produced by menace from the outside, by threats of aggression from neighboring countries or Europe. No words were employed more frequently by the leaders of these nations than *la crisis* and *el abismo*. Yet hope was never abandoned. On the contrary there was usually and naturally a Messianic tone in political utterances: "liberator," "savior of the country," "restorer of order," "founder of peace," "deliverer of the people," and "champion of the national honor." No doubt about it, there were some sincere reformers and patriots among the rulers, but often the governments seemed to be operated by shifts of fortune hunters who abused and betrayed every noble cause. Whatever the character of these imperious personalities, however, the political history of the epoch is practically synonymous with their biographies.

They are difficult to classify since the majority were army officers. But there were some civilians who managed for a time to outwit or retain the loyalty of the military. Many were ephemeral rulers, elevated and deposed by capricious fortune, men whose names hardly deserve to be recalled. There were a few who were in power for more than a decade. Some were white and some were Indians or Negroes, but the majority were mestizos or mulattoes, except in countries where Caucasians managed to consolidate their position because the more primitive groups were less numerous or less successful in their attempts to gain power. A few were sober, but many were sensual and corrupt, some of whom were constantly under the influence of liquor. Some were staunch supporters of the Church, there were a few atheists or free-thinkers who vigorously opposed the Church, but the majority seem to have been little influenced by their religion. Some had programs to develop the country, many had no idea even of what to do or how to do it. A few were nothing but soldiers of fortune.

Perhaps the characteristic common to all of them was their willingness to gamble with fate and their fondness for beaurocracy, titles, pomp and ceremony. The road to power was bloody and hazardous, even for the leaders. Failure usually resulted in imprisonment, exile or facing the firing squad. And success had its demands and responsibilities. The incumbent maintained himself in office by censorship, propaganda and the sword, and this system was expensive. Government revenues came from excise taxes (salt, cigarettes, any form of tobacco, liquors, matches, etc.) tariffs (exports and imports — cars, machinery, etc.), tributes, forced loans, confiscations, shares in the profits of concessions and monopolies, debasement of the currency, and bond issues sold to foreign investors or local speculators. As a consequence of the foreign loans and sales of bonds, many a dictator fell during the great depression of the 1930's because he was unable to meet his country's international obligations. If they were met, domestic services were curtailed and a discontented people overthrew the guilty ruler. Enemies, traitors and assassins lurked everywhere, and catastrophe always hovered near. Sooner or later a filthy prison, death or ostracism was almost certain to be his lot. Ex-dictators were not welcome and only the most fortunate were able to escape to foreign lands taking with them sufficient funds from the treasury to enable them to spend a comfortable old age. As for pomp and ceremony, it appears that medals, ribbons, uniforms and parades were in part a pose for political effect and in part an expression of innate fondness for display — a trait that will be dealt with in a later chapter. Rare was the ruler who did not cover his entire chest with decorations or accumulate sonorous titles a quarter of a page long.

Dictators with a constructive bent usually tackled such problems as communications, transport, education, and whatever barriers impeded their progress, or tried to stimulate agriculture and industry in other ways. As a rule, however, they expended the major part of their resources in suppressing insurgents and constructing commemorative monuments and public buildings in the national capitals and their home towns. They proclaimed eternal devotion to democracy, liberty and country and eternal hostility to special privilege. Sometimes they meant what they said, but often such avowels merely embroidered a demand for the opposition to clear out and make room for a new shift of beaurocratic grafters.

The histories of the young nations, as already suggested, were not all the same. There were, in fact, marked differences among them. A few had nothing but despots as their rulers. A good many had, along with their tyrants, a leaven of autocrats who revealed a large measure of respect for the liberties of the people. Some republics, such as Mexico and Guatemala, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic, Venezuela and Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay and Brazil, were conspicuous during this period or later for their long-term rulers. Others had a rapid succession of chief executives. Chile, Argentina, Costa Rica advanced fairly steadily toward order and liberty. But many others were in chaos most of the time, and Uruguay, which was to become a model republic, seethed with almost continuous revolt. Ecuador began with despotic stability, sank into fifteen years of internal turbulence, achieved order under a pious tyrant, and fell into another period of anarchy. Between 1927 and 1952 only one man, Galo Plaza, served out his full term as President.

The history of Latin America as a whole during the period from independence to the closing decade of the nineteenth century may be summarized in the following generalizations: 1) Violent attacks upon the Roman Catholic Church and its wealth and functions, occurred in all the nations save Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay and Brazil, and some efforts were made to curtail its power in most of these countries; 2) The forces of tradition and reaction were defeated in almost every country in which a vigorous State-Church conflict occurred, with the exception of Colombia and Ecuador, where theocratic oligarchies temporarily triumphed; 3) Turbulence, despotism and violence retarded but did not entirely prevent economic and cultural advance; the governments of even the most primitive countries, such as Haiti, Bolivia and Paraguay adopted constitutions committing themselves to compulsory and gratuitous education (elementary) for the masses; 4) Progress toward political democracy was not notable in many of the republics, although a few — Costa Rica, Chile, Argentina and Brazil — seemed to be moving in that direction; army officers were the chief executives of most of the republics at the end of the period.

The difference between Spanish America and Anglo America in degree of so-called development or material progress may be pointed out in etched summary as a matter of certain historical antecedents.

First of all, the developers of Anglo America came from the background of a larger centralized government while the Spaniards came from small kingdoms and municipalities without experience in union.

Secondly, the former came for purposes of religious freedom while the latter came to impose "the one true religion."

Thirdly, the former came willing to work, to explore and to hew a home and a land out of the wilderness while the Spaniards came unwilling to stoop to work yet demanding sustenance from the earth.

Fourthly, while the Anglos were unwilling to associate with the Indian, the Spaniards intermingled with them.

These factors in addition to others, some of which will be discussed later, all set the stage on the different continents for development in different directions, each of which is exactly suitable to the people who developed it. If each will complement the other both will reap untold benefits.

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Part III
The Social Structure

Chapter VIII

Social Background

The Ruling Caste

Uniformity is not the trade-mark of Latin America in the twentieth century nor has it ever been. In all probability the diversity grows with development and the passage of time. Some of the nations develop faster than others and even some regions within a country progress faster. For example, countries such as Argentina and Mexico in the more temporate zones have forged ahead and the people themselves recognize as never before that they have had a bad start. As we have seen, they continually lay the blame on the Spanish heritage. At the same time it must not be forgotten that their history as independent nations is some fifty years shorter than that of Anglo America with which they are prone to compare themselves. The social structure, the economic and the scientific foundations on which they tried to build were not adequate for the progressive and effective democracies which they wished ideally to develop. Nevertheless, the achievements in nationality and culture are to be admired in view of the almost insurmountable impediments of an historical and geographical nature not to mention the diversity of the population.

The people of Latin America have developed a social structure whose roots reach far back into the colonial period, the conquest and on beyond into the early history of Spain. What happened before the conquest has been set forth previously. The roots that lie in the colonial period are clearly described in the able study by Berta Corredor titled *La familia americana.* She repeats the belief held by other Latin American sociologists that when the Spaniard conquered the New World he hastened to substitute his own cultural values for those of the aborigines. These were reduced to supplying his needs, doing the work, fighting the wars and the heavy work of construction for the building of roads and cities. In a like manner they used the native woman as the basis for the formation of the family. She was the determining factor in the structuring of the race of mestizos who predominate in Latin America. On this basis and in line with other sociologists, she indicates that the ethnic and cultural masses of Latin America were divided into four groups by different conditions of amalgamation of race and culture.

The first group is formed by Chile and Argentina. In these two countries the climate and physical conditions in general were suitable for the development of a predominantly European society.

Brazil alone typifies the region where the European element was never in a situation of indisputable domination. The Portuguese were always in competition with the other ethnic groups.

Mexico or Peru may be representative of the third group where the European in conflict with other civilizations already well developed imposed a colonial system of exploitation of the mineral wealth and produced an antagonism of races. This in turn created a European superstructure under which strangely remote currents are in juxtaposition and agitation.

The fourth group would be constituted by Haiti, Paraguay and the Dominican Republic. Here the European element is at best a varnish. It represents an incongrous cultural mixture of frankly indigenous or negroid substance with scarcely assimilated elements of European origin.

Brazil managed a harmonious racial and cultural integration. In Chile, on the other hand, a kind of emergency family was established. Since the first Spaniards came alone they took women from among the Indians of Peru. But the Spaniard then lived as if ashamed of his woman and children and never appeared in public with them. This situation was still further aggravated when later Spaniards arrived bringing along their wives and children from Spain. To avoid mixing with the Indian blood the Spaniards practiced endogamy and herein lies the fundamental difference between the social classes of Chile and those of other Latin American countries.

The lower class was formed by the descendents of the first Spaniards who mingled with the Indian women while the aristocracy consists of pure Spaniards or of Spanish men or women who married *criollos*, of the white race like themselves.

The Spanish conquest in Mexico produced great maladjustments and conflicts in the family organization. The conquerors not only took possession of the goods and the lands but of the women and their daughters. The Indian man might have a wife when she was not coveted by the master although the latter relationships were not recognized by either the law or the Church.

The children of a Spaniard and an Indian woman found themselves in an anomalous situation for the subjection in which the father held the Indian mother made the mestizo offspring fear and even hate his own father, but he was at the same time constrained to be like him.

The majority of the Spaniards brought their families with them from Spain and established a home. The indigenous family developed beside the Spanish family organization and gradually lost its autochthonous character. The *criollo* and the mestizo became new problems; the former, although of Spanish parents, did not have the same rights because he had been born far from Spain, hence he is called a *criollo*. The second presented an even greater problem because he lacked both rights and affection.

The Latin American family is the result of the integration of two races and two cultures. While this was happening the Spaniard also contributed one other powerfully determining factor. He established the patriarchal type of family that he had inherited from the feudal period. It formed a closed unit whose structure had been preserved down to the XIX century and even until today in some regions. This system of absolutism based on paternal authority characterized the colonial family of both urban and rural sectors.

The foregoing sketchy history of the origin and development of the Latin American family implies some results that may well be summarized here.

The irregular basis of many families calls attention immediately. The extent to which this situation existed is not known until early in the present century. In 1935, according to Corredor, 43% of births in Mexico were illegitimate which seems to say something about the percentage of illegally established families, a factor which, however, would not account for all illegitimate births. By 1955 the figure had been reduced to 23% if the figures in either case are reliable. The other Spanish American countries are not notable for great variations from the latter figure.

Illigitimacy is, therefore, a serious social problem. Its causes are to be found in the lack of resources with which to finance the costly wedding, social acceptance, ignorance and the expensive fees imposed by both civil and church authorities. Regarding social acceptance, it is said that a woman who lives permanently and discreetly with a man is treated with the same consideration as if she were married.

Also growing out of the social development described above three primary social classes have arisen. The size of each of these classes by itself is quite significant. Unfortunately, as pointed out elsewhere, dependable statistics on industrial, occupational and population status are not available for any country, much less for the entire continent. With this limitation in mind, the economic, and something of the social status of the people may be seen in the following table which has been compiled from a number of sources:

1. Professional and governing (upper) class	8 per cent
2. Middle class (artisans, businessmen, teachers, clerks, etc.)	20 per cent
3. Illiterates, tenants, Indians, servants, etc.	72 per cent

In the first place it should be born in mind that in some countries such as Bolivia, Mexico, Peru, Guatemala, etc., the Indian forms the servant and peon class while in others there are no Indians to all intents and purposes. In the second place the above figures are practically meaningless without some knowledge of living conditions.

In one of the small countries whose population is approximately three million the governing or upper class constitutes probably less than the eight per cent shown in the table. Some seventy families including an estimated five hundred people elect each other to the various positions in the government, constitute the Congress, the professions and own the business and property of the nation. They determine both domestic and foreign policy, the taxes that shall be levied, the import and export duties that shall be collected, what laws shall be enacted and the kind of educational system the country shall have. They also determine the status and finances of the military establishment and, to a large extent, the industries that may be licensed and operated and by whom.

It has often been said that 10% of the people own 90% of the land in Spanish America. The actual figures are not as different as one may be inclined to judge. In *Alliance without Allies*, Victor Alba indicates that something like 65% of the cultivated land is in the hands of 15% of the owners.

He goes on to denounce what he calls the oligarchy for its greed for power which would enable these people to perpetuate their exploitation, the status quo and be able to live in a manner becoming to their caste.

These people live in well appointed, large homes or mansions, very often in the country as the Goths did in early Spain, and are able to enjoy all the pleasures and modern conveniences they desire. Their desires, however, are not always the same as those of Anglo Americans. They have little interest in washing machines, vacuum cleaners, dishwashers, power mowers and the like. There is the common belief that it is the lot in this life of a certain class of people to perform the chores involved and thus to support the ruling class. There are servants everywhere and their services are not expensive, a condition which often misleads the Anglo housewife into pleasurable anticipation of a sojourn in Spanish America. The fact of the matter, however, is that servants are not a luxury, they are a necessity. Nothing short of a swarm of servants is able to cope with the problems of housekeeping in houses designed and constructed for exterior artistic symmetry and beauty with no thought whatsoever for an interior house plan. Since servants do the work there is no need to consider efficiency of housekeeping when designing the floor plan. Furthermore, it is less expensive to build a structure and go back later to drill holes and install wiring, the plumbing and the telephone. Architects are costly, labor is cheap. Only in the last few years has any consideration been given to central heating, or heating of any kind other than ornamental fireplaces. Occasionally a brazier will be in evidence. Moreover, there is no standardization of sizes, threads and fixtures in plumbing equipment. Electrical fixtures are even more chaotic. Only the plug made to fit a given electrical outlet will function, the current is seldom up to standard and appliances are ruined. There is not even a standard voltage, some countries using 220 and others 110, some use alternating current, some direct current, and regardless of the voltage available, transformers are the rule to bring A.C. voltage up enough to operate appliances. In many communities electricity is conspicuous by its absence, and the officials concerned often poke fun at themselves. At one time, Quito, the capital of Ecuador, was notorious for power failures at crucial moments. On the occasion of a parade on a national holiday, the power officials entered a float bearing the following legend in large letters for all the world to see. *Debe Haber Luz* (There Ought to Be Light).

Water is often scarce in municipalities for similar reasons. For example, in another country, the pump and driving motor were ordered the same day drilling started on a municipal well. By the time the equipment arrived, the well was already three hundred feet deeper than plans called for thus creating a load which the equipment could not handle. When the water does run, however, everybody fills every possible container and utensil, including the bathtub, trying to save enough not only for himself but also for any neighbor who was not at home or who had insufficient containers. In the larger cities, of course, there usually are no problems, yet, very often each house has an emergency tank on the roof which is filled while there is a supply.

Of course one does not drink this water for fear of contracting an illness. It is for this reason that wine is commonly used at meals, or perhaps beer — warm beer. Cold beer is "unhealthy" and the same is true of soft drinks yet ice cream (*helados*) is quite popular, while ice tea is not.

To return to the upper class, these people obviously have all needs satisfied. They can and do send their children to the best schools both at home and abroad. The kind of education and the extent to which it is available at home will be described in a later chapter.

Those who live on country estates perform a much needed service for thousands of the underprivileged. The Manor house, with its surrounding structures becomes the center of community life for hundreds who live in the environs. It furnishes medical care, a commissary, a blacksmith shop, housing for many of the immediate employees, a house of worship, a nursery for the young children of the women who work and a school. As often as not the teacher is also an employee of the estate. There may be entertainments, a football field for the boys and many other services furnished. There is also the occasional estate on which all employees are brutally mistreated, and all possible variations in between. These estates are the carryover from the original system of *Latifundios* sometimes referred to as *fundos* and are not greatly different from the southern plantations of nineteenth century Anglo America.

When the conquistadores of Spain laid claim to conquered territory they included the entire immense Indian population. By the divine right of the conquerors and in charters which they drew up, all land became subject to distribution for use in perpetuity. Thus, enormous tracts of land were carved into estates and assigned by royal grant, first to the conqueror, then to governors, generals, captains, colonial officials, adventurous hidalgos and to an increasing stream of settlers and ambitious fortune hunters from overseas. This was continued after independence as a form of political patronage — and all of it always resulted in the exploitation of Indians and peons. This situation could do no less than have an important bearing on the general economic, political, social and religious life of the people and prevented to a large extent the solution of national problems. In Bolivia, for example, according to ex-President Paz Estenssoro in "La Revolución Boliviana," most of the arable land and the vast mining regions and wealth are all in the hands of the six or eight percent who constitute the ruling caste. In many cases much of the arable land is either poorly worked or not worked at all. Furthermore, the owner will not sell idle lands simply because he does not care to be bothered with the red tape involved.

The *latifundia* system has resulted in an oppressive monopoly of labor and an exclusive exploitation of the land. The general failure to develop a class of small landowners with independent farmers and families has resulted in the total absence of an agricultural class which is the economic backbone of both democracy and industrialization.

An inherent characteristic of the *latifundia* system is the depreciation of manual labor which so very conveniently contributed to the perpetuation of the caste system transplanted from Spain. How this came about was set forth in Chapter IV. First the Spaniard in the New World and later the Spanish American needed the Indian or other serfs to supply him with the practical necessities. The rest is an old story sometimes referred to as the "Black Legend." A description of working conditions and the plight of the Indian are to be found in the works of such authors as Eustacio Rivera (*La Voragine*), Ciro Alegría (*Ancho y Ajeno es el mundo*), López y Fuentes (*El Indio*) and others. Suffice it to say briefly that there is in reality no legal code nor do tribunals of justice function, because the hacienda owner and his henchmen resolve all legal questions by arrogating to themselves the role of judge and executor of justice. Far from defending the weak and the poor they nearly always aid and abet the wealthy and the strong. There are regions in which the justices of the peace and the governors belong to the serving class of the hacienda.

An hacienda or *fundo* is made up by accumulating small parcels of land wrested from their legitimate owners. The boss exercises the authority of a Norman Baron over his *peones*. He not only influences the appointment of governors, mayors and justices of the peace but also officiates at weddings, designates heirs, distributes inheritances and, to insure that the sons will satisfy the debts of the father, he subjects them to a servitude that often lasts a lifetime.

Originally, the *encomienda* or *latifundia* was founded as an institution to care for souls and its origin goes back to the Spanish Middle Ages as we have seen. In Spanish America the land did not belong legally to the *encomendero* or hacienda manager but to the King or to the State. But the fact is that he, in reality, became the *ipso facto* owner of plants, water, cattle and Indians; all were part of a single property. This placed him in opposition to the King and therefore he was in favor of political independence. More than a phenomenon of common interests, submission to the King was a representation of external character consisting of pride of nobility and a compromise of honor. As might be expected, it was more evident in the beaurocrat and the administrator than in the long established New World landowner.

The social conditions that grew out of the *latifundia* system with its concomitant *encomienda* system (commending the Indians to the *latifundista*), the oppression of Indian labor and the exploitation of the land whose product was shipped abroad in its entirety may readily be envisioned. Two important classes developed, one based on wealth and small in numbers, the other based on numbers and completely deprived of wealth including living conditions worthy of human beings. In neither Anglo nor Spanish America were the Indians educated or trained to take their rightful place in the surrounding social or economic world and in some cases the treatment of the Indian has backfired to the economic chagrin of the Anglo, notably when rich mineral deposits were discovered on the Navajo and other reservations whose lands originally were deemed useless to any one and for this reason were set aside as reservations.

At present, in Spanish America, the Andean Indian constitutes the reservoir of labor, skilled, unskilled and domestic, in rural communities and cities alike while the Mayan performs the same services in Central America and the Aztec in Mexico. All farm labor, the making of sun-dried brick, the dressing of stone, the laying of crossties and tracks, the building of roads, the upkeep of parks and the few existing lawns, the labor in the mines, and on large farms, all are performed by Indians and mestizos. Much transportation of goods and commodities is by llama-back in droves driven by Indians, *cholos or cholas*. One of the natural or inborn skills for which the Andean Indian has never been given either credit or reimbursement is the ability to work in high altitudes above 12,000 feet. The white man can never work in those altitudes without a period of adaptation requiring weeks and even months to adjust to the thin air, the low temperatures and the scarcity of oxygen. Some never adapt and none succeed in making a complete adjustment. At the same time nothing has been done to improve the diet of the Andean Indian so that he might dispense with the need to chew the coca leaf whose cocain content stills the pains of hunger, illness and exhaustion and thereby helps to shorten the life span to thirty-six years. At the same time the Church has not succeeded in teaching the Indian anywhere the true meaning of Christianity. The result is an intermingling of pagan and Christian rites as demonstrated by the scene on the cathedral steps in Chichicastenango, Guatemala, that was described in a previous chapter. If the Indian's lot were improved there would be no one to take the place of the Jew and the Mohammedan who once bore the ruling caste of Christians on their shoulders — unless the immigrant foreigner stepped into the gap. The attitude of the upper class toward the Indian is much the same as that of the Anglo plantation owner toward his Negro slaves, or the condescending attitude of superiority on the part of Anglos toward Spanish Americans in the Great Southwest, or "aliens" elsewhere in the United States. Many Spanish American citizens of the United States informed the writer during school days in no uncertain terms that the country belongs to them because they were the first to arrive. Along with Will Rogers and his retort to the descendants of those who came over on the Mayflower, the Indian could make a claim of priority over all comers.

The foregoing makes it obvious that the racial components are not uniformly distributed over Latin America with some republics becoming more Caucasian (Costa Rica claims to be the "whitest" country) and others becoming less so because of the growing Indian population, or immigration. It has not been many years since Mexico suddenly realized the importance and cultural value of its Indian heritage and temporarily tried to make the most of the advantages to be derived. These differences also occur within nations and are quite noticeable between the coastal and the interior regions, and between the urban and rural areas. There is still sufficient similarity (or overall differences from other regions of the world) to make it possible to speak of a Latin American civilization or culture and to generalize about it without doing injustice. Quite often, however, a generalization will apply to most countries, but not to one or another and different generalizations are not always applicable to the same countries nor do they fail in the same countries.

The Middle Class and Social Mobility

Any discussion of the Middle Class of necessity recalls some conditions that have been hinted at or mentioned outright in earlier pages. One of these is the geographical fragmentation of the Latin American area into independent, autonomous political groups or nations and into diverse regions within a nation. This is one of the great contrasts between the Americas on opposite sides of the Río Bravo with the consequent industrialization growing out of unity on the northern side and lack of it in the southern nations. But this is not the end of the story for this fragmentation extends to a rather rigid class system beginning with the ruling caste at the top. Continuing in the geographical vein, it must not be forgotten that the lack of national unity in the Iberian peninsula before the sixteenth century produced a type of regional, provincial or neighborhood patriotism based on the common religious faith. This limited patriotism carried over to Spanish America and to such an extent that it influenced the language. Very often the question is not where are you from, but *¿cuál es su tierra?* or the answer to the question is *Mi tierra es* ___. The nearest English equivalent being where were you born, or I was born in ___. As indicated previously, Spanish American society has not been mobile. People are born, live and die in the same community and class.

Until recently there has been an increasingly greater cleavage between urban and rural populations, perhaps even more exaggerated than in Anglo America prior to the advent of World War II. With the increased construction of roads and communications, however, this attitude is being eroded as thousands of rural folks go to the cities seeking a better way of life which they know exists somewhere. There is a consequent proliferation of slum areas and an ever-growing lower class.

It will bear repeating that the cultural foundations of Latin American society have their origin in the Iberian culture and this includes the legal system, the religious orientation and the language. It is inevitable, then, that all Spanish America was and still largely is as monolithic and highly structured as was the caste system in Spain or as were the autocratic Indian societies which were replaced. Each found a kindred spirit in and therefore reinforced each other. The Europeans came to Anglo America to establish religious liberty and to build a new way of life. The Spaniards sought wealth for the sole purpose of irrevocably maintaining the status quo — the caste system, the religion and all that goes with it. Hence, the Indian and a few slaves replaced the Jew and the Moor to support the ruling caste. Therefore, colonial activities laid the foundations for the present system, a social system where the traditional professions were the rich landowner, the priest, the professional soldier and these and the intellectual stood at the top. In view of the Iberian assumption that the proper social order consists of a hierarchy in which there is a ruling caste and the masses are born to serve, it is little wonder that Spanish America often seems anachronistic and unsuited to functioning in the modern world. In spite of superficial ostentations of democracy and lip service to its ideals, the fact remains that there simply is no equality among men nor are all deserving of equal treatment. This is amply demonstrated by the legal system and by the fact that no fixed system for the administration of justice can last long. It is an act of nobility to defeat the system, and is treated as such by all. Out of this grows one of the basic hindrances of improvement. The schools do not make provision for social or economic mobility so that Spanish American society continues to be closed and static. Each one feels that he is born into a certain class or role and he is inherently constrained to live up to that role or class, not to surpass it. Their idea expressed in *superarse* is to outdo oneself, but within his class, to try to move up is *inaudito*, unheard of, even outrageous or monstrous.

In Western societies, as a general rule, there is a large Middle class to bridge the gap between the classes at the extreme social ends and it often also is a channel facilitating some social mobility. Frequently, it is the source of political stability and the reservoir of democratic values. But these values in turn are preserved by the educational system and this is the point where the Spanish American system breaks down.

The Middle Class is small, hardly recognizable as such and is therefore too weak to exert a stabilizing influence or to preserve the vestiges of democracy. The aristocratic tradition is entirely too well entrenched and is a way of life that will change but slowly in spite of technical assistance and so-called mutual aid programs — these only substitute for the Jews and Moors who used to support the superior caste. The prevailing social values are those of the upper class with which much of the Middle Class struggles to identify itself. The unavoidable outcome is that there is a tooth and toenail struggle to defend the aristocratic social values. This social aspiration or motivation is at the root of one of the strongest contrasts with Anglo society and it presupposes an entirely different approach to problems — a fact seldom recognized or even sensed by Anglos. There are, then, some inherent implications for education. The *a priori* educational system is the *ipso facto* bulwark of the *sine qua non* which preserves the aristocratic society which is only another way of saying that the educational system serves no one else. At any rate it is not intended to do so, hence the limited number of the school age population to be found in school (see Chapter XI). Education not only fails to prepare, but it also justifies the social hierarchy and even discourages all ideas of social mobility teaching indirectly that this is not possible and perhaps even that attempts to move up are contrary to the common good. In this education and the Church go hand in hand as we have seen. Once again we collide with the vicious circle — to change education requires a change in the social order, but this cannot take place until there is improvement in the economic order, and this inturn, as we have seen before, requires a change in education. We have come full circle back to the question of how to break into the circle without disrupting an entire society. There is even the more fundamental question, posed in Chapter III, whether change is desirable or can be brought about. There is no genuine evidence of a desire to do so. At this point we may recall the Peruvian's retort when asked what to do about a problem: "That's the trouble with you Americans — you always want to do something!" Any change that comes about may have to be promoted by the ruling caste who may be inclined to think about national problems in the way falsely attributed in the U.S. to "Engine Charlie," or one-time Secretary of War Wilson, who was accused of saying that what is good for General Motors is good for the country.

In the existing social structure in Spanish America it would be expected that the greatest ferment for change would be found among the Middle class. Unhappily, the greatest unrest often comes from the sector least able or qualified to effect changes except through violence. The Middle Class, either inherently or by aping the upper class or both, wants no change. Among those of the Middle Class from whom leadership might be expected are the teachers, but these may be even more averse to change. An anecdote may illustrate this situation. A few years ago efforts were being made to form an association of teachers of foreign languages. The movement seemed to be dragging with leaden feet while discussions were being carried on relative to the statement of aims and purposes in the constitution. The recurrent question had to do with the accomplishments and values to be gained. The leader finally got down to specifics and listed such possible gains as improved salaries resulting in the acquisition of refrigerators, private libraries including professional books, etc. The immediate forceful reply was "I don't want refrigerators and professional books." At the time this seemed to be a rather general attitude. The status quo was good enough. Subsequently, the movement succeeded because the teachers began to believe in the leader of the movement. As might be expected, the movement collapsed when it lost its leader. The theoretical purposes, the ideas or ideals and aims could not attract a following, and the more practical the purposes the smaller the following. This experience was not limited to one country, but took place in four involving the tropics and both the highlands and the lowlands of the Andean countries. Where the Anglo would organize and work toward a commonly accepted principle, the Spanish American goes his own unorganized way fighting tooth and toenail for "his" place, his role, his personality, and what does not contribute to his personality is unacceptable or at best, unattractive. Uniformity is abhorred. Yet great deviations from the traditional are not to be taken lightly either, but will often be tolerated as an expression of the individual personality.

Yet, paradoxically enough, Spanish American society is cooperative, not only in the economic sphere, but in many other respects also. Families and homes alike are large consisting not only of immediate members but also of in-laws, grandparents and the families of married children. This tends to produce a more uniform type of family life than is to found among Anglo Americans. As a consequence, children from one family may be raised by another and receive exactly the same up-bringing. There will be no less love and care, no neglect even in the smallest details and the "finished product" is the same as if it had been "turned out" by the original family.

Since families are large, homes or at least houses take on similarly larger proportions. Very often they fill an entire block in the city, are built flush with the sidewalk, according to traditional plans, and will have a separate interior, tile-floored patio for each family which has its own unit or suite of rooms complete with all facilities such as bath, kitchen, parlor, bedrooms and telephone. Windows facing the street are protected by iron grill-work and outside doors are always kept locked. Each one has a small opening which may be opened and closed only from the inside. When a visitor calls at the home, a maid looks through the opening first to see who it is. If unknown, the visitor must identify himself and his business, whereupon the maid advises the mistress of the house. If the visitor is well known the maid will admit him immediately.

In more modern construction, the house is a single family dwelling unit set back from the street far enough to allow a small lawn and shrubbery. The entire property is surrounded by a wall which may be of wrought iron with sharp spikes at the top. It requires considerable perspicacity and a night guard to prevent illegal entry for reasons explained in a later chapter.

This type of semi-communal living has been the saving factor for many of the middle class. Most teachers and many other white-collar workers would find it impossible to keep body and soul together for the family if they did not share so many common services. Each family unit profits from reduced expenses that are shared in this manner.

Family ties are strong and carry with them far more obligations and dependence than the Anglo would tolerate, the more so perhaps because the families are large. Ten, twelve and fifteen children are not unusual. Agricultural, pastoral and business enterprises of all sorts are still mainly family enterprises in which every member helps and upon which each depends for his living. For this reason nepotism is a traditional way of life regardless of where it may be found.

The equalization of the sexes is not yet established nor even countenanced, but it is slowly making headway. Women occupy what may be considered by an Anglo as a very subordinate place in the social order. Her place is still in the home where she superintends the servants and oversees the up-bringing of the children. Her life has been most lacking in challenge not to say boring. For this reason most Spanish American girls are overly eager to marry an Anglo and live in the United States. Women are not active in business or public affairs except at the price of social ostracism. Some middle class women and girls work in offices and mercantile establishments and women of both the upper and middle classes belong to charity organizations while all those of the lower class must work. Occasionally they join the professions and still less often they take part in politics. Traditionally, the males determine the social patterns of values and therefore keep their women under lock and key to protect them from other prowling males or Don Juans. The standard attitude is that women belong either in the home or in a convent. The teaching profession, however, has opened the doors of the homes and the schools for more and more women.

Mention has been made in a previous chapter of the habit of revolution. The so-called turbulent politics, however, brought about no changes in the stability of society in Spanish America. In more industrialized countries people became displaced and had no roots anywhere in spite of the greater political stability. In Spanish America homes, estates, business establishments and farms remained in the same families for generations. Families lived in the same house generation after generation. No one travelled except occasionally to Europe. Even more distantly related family members saw each other more often and not just at weddings and funerals. It is still largely a patriarchal society.

The overwhelming percentage of Spanish Americans are Catholic and cling to the Roman Church even if with perceptible misgivings at times. The conflicts between Church and State have not made the people less devoted to the Church and its institutions. The relationship between Church and State have varied from republic to republic with some having established a complete separation while a few still grant subsidies which are included in the National budget. The wealth and influence of the Church are by no means uniform throughout all the countries yet protestantism has not made outstanding inroads. As a general rule, protestant denominations are tolerated and sometimes even welcomed and officially encouraged. Nonetheless, Roman Catholicism is strongly entrenched in spite of some apparent skepticism and more religious indifference in male circles. It has a hold on the common people (the uneducated class) and the women of all classes. Highly and most expensively decorated cathedrals are ubiquitous. There is one town in Mexico that has a church for every day in the year.

Latin American civilization is still aristocratic, humanistic and speculative with an interest in the opera, literature, politics and art. It therefore lacks the realistic, technological underpinning that is basic to the development of natural resources that leads to a more abundant life. They are far more interested in poetry, essays, novels and extemporaneous poetic contests than in history, economics, research and practical experimentation. There have been notable achievements in mining, engineering, architecture and medicine but they have great talent for painting, sculpture and music. The fondness for leisure persists and they put it to good use, as will be seen in a later chapter, in the practice of interpersonal relationships in which they may be the world's outstanding experts. There is still much of the inherited aversion to work and they will suffer poverty rather than perform manual labor. Yet even poverty is stigmatized as is exemplified by an anecdote. A Spanish American author visited an Anglo family resident in his country to discuss a projected book. As he was leaving, the practical Anglo housewife noticed a tear in the author's trousers and offered to mend it. "Oh, no thank you," replied the author, "a tear is the sign of an accident; a patch is the sign of poverty."

The Spanish American has never been possessed of the pioneer spirit that would claim frontier lands, clear fields, build log cabins and so claim a wilderness for an expanding society. Cheap labor was plentiful in the reservoir of Indians, mestizos and Negroes and when this was depleted there was always the immigrant and the foreign technician. They are not given to physical sports except for purposes of exhibition and team sports often break down because of the traditional separatism. There are football teams and games based on soccer or English Rugby whose games frequently end in riots. Baseball has become quite popular complete with English language terminology with a Spanish pronunciation. Tennis is also somewhat popular but in the main, the young men spend their time outside of class and study on dinners, writing, dancing, composing, courting or in student or other politics. To them geography is an obstacle, not a challenge to mentality and a source of wealth. Money is something to be spent on others, on consumption and on travel but not to be saved, invested or otherwise made to produce. Only recently have savings accounts, life insurance and investments begun to attract popular attention.

The population of Latin America has been growing rapidly and amounted to about 160,000,000 in 1950. By 1960 it had reached nearly 200,000,000 for the birthrate is high everywhere excepting perhaps among the ruling caste. The mortality rate is also very high because hygiene and health have been seriously neglected and public sanitation lags still farther behind. Poor diet, malnutrition, undernourishment and disease are rampant, this in spite of WHO, local campaigns and international technical assistance programs against malaria, yellow fever, hook worm and other diseases. Medical care is inadequate to say the least. The diet of millions is deficient not only because of the low per capita income but because of ignorance of food values. Milk is not a common table beverage and pasteurized milk has yet to become popular. In one country a pasteurizing plant stood idle because of the popular belief that pasteurized milk causes malaria.

Pulque, rum, *chicha*, *aguardiente*, beer and wine are consumed in much greater quantities than milk and often are less expensive.

The Laborer

The lower class consists of that formless mass of humanity amounting to about seventy-two percent of the total population of the entire Latin American area. They live in the *mansiones* (slum dwellings) and cardboard and tin shanties in the large cities, in communities of thatched huts made of split bamboo in the tropics, and in rock and mud huts, on the order of a Navajo hogan, with thatched roof in the Andean highlands. In the *mansiones* there uusally is one source of cold water in a common patio for an entire square block of tenants, one or two bathrooms and possibly several kitchens but all must share kitchen facilities. As many as fifteen people may be crowded into one room. Conditions are comparable to those of Anglo American slums. The farmers, tradesmen and craftsmen are far better off although they do not have the cars, television sets, refrigerators and washing machines to be seen in the homes of so many southern Negroes. Those who live in the rural sections in their thatched huts have no furniture, not even a stove. A fire is laid among several rocks on which the earthen pottery is placed to cook the meal while the smoke finds its way out through the thatch. Water comes from a nearby stream or ditch and is usually infected with water-born diseases such as typhoid, amoebic dysentery, and others. This water, when used to irrigate vegetables, leaves them infected with all the same diseases. It is for this reason that Latin Americans of the upper classes do not drink water with their meals.

The foreign visitor who departs from the well-trodden path and seeks to gain valid insights into these countries will first be impressed by the children. They are found to have quite distended stomachs because of malnutrition, undernourishment and intestinal diseases. This is particularly true of the tropics where they wear little or no clothing. In the Andean highlands the heavy and colorful woolen clothing does not quite succeed in concealing the emaciated, thin bodies of children and adults alike. It is much more difficult to find enough to eat in the highlands or the *altiplano*. In all cases, every member of the family must work when employment is available to help keep body and soul together for the entire large family. But employment is seasonal, not well paid and illness causes every member of the family to be unemployable more often than not. It is interesting to recall in this connection that harvest time in coffee producing nations often borders on a national holiday. Schools and business establishments close so that school children and office clerks alike may help pick the red coffee berries along with regular laborers.

The children of the lower class spend little time in school. If illness and employment do not keep them out of school it is because there is no school for them to attend. Furthermore, the education they would obtain would be classical, factual and for the sake of knowledge only — not to be applied in the development of one's own abilities or of natural resources. The lower class individual, however, especially the *campesino*, has a dignity and a philosophical mein which, when combined with his warm, friendly personality and personal interest in his guest make of him an inimitable host and friend.

As a general rule Spanish Americans are not as gadget minded as the Anglo. They are lovers of music and therefore where they can they buy radios, record players and hi fi sets. Agricultural implements, however, are still generally primitive. The old stone-age plow drawn by a team of oxen is still in evidence. The steel moldboard plow has not become popular because it requires more than one team of oxen to pull it. Tractors are not in use because either land holdings are too small to justify it or the upper class *hacienda* owner can farm more cheaply with Indian labor, or at least the net profit is greater with less worry and investment on his part. Machinery requires an investment, fuel and maintenance all of which is expensive. The laborer is inexpensive, feeds himself and requires little or no maintenance. This is set forth in tragically simple terms by the previously mentioned author, Paz Estenssoro.

Transportation makes use of trucks, ox carts, llamas, horses and Indian backs. Roads are poor and scarce and would not change the picture to any great extent for a long time to come if they were available. There would be no additional produce to transport to market unless tools were furnished to those who work the land. This was pointed up not long ago when Belaunde Terry became President of Peru. He requested that the Technical Assistance Program supply ten dollars worth of hand tools (hoe, rake and shovel) to each Indian who had a plot of land to work. At a cost of less than ten million dollars, the entire economic, health and education picture of Peru could have been improved. Instead, the Technical Assistance Program insisted upon a multimillion dollar program of road building in the manner so vividly described in *The Ulgy American* by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick. The road will serve very well to bring additional thousands of rural folks, who might have contributed to the economy, into the already congested city slums to add to the misery and violence.

The availability of roads and transportation does not encourage the opening of new land and the establishment of new business because those nationals who have money will not invest it nor are they enterprising. The type of foreigner who would clear new land and farm it either does not go to Latin America or else joins the upper class and adopts their way of life. Railroads are even scarcer and airplane transport and travel is prohibitive in cost to the masses of people. Telephones are confined to the homes of the wealthy.

The product of native producers is often transported many miles on the producer's back. Guatemalan pottery makers have been seen trotting along the Pan American Highway, barefooted, transporting as many as ten large earthen jars fixed to a frame carried on the back. The total weight was between 200 and 300 pounds. This load would be transported from some place in Guatemala over a distance of more than one hundred miles to the pottery market in the city of Santa Tecla in the Republic of El Salvador, some twelve or fifteen miles from the capital city. As a general rule men carry loads on their backs and women on their heads. It is fascinating to watch a hot *tamale* vendor transporting her smoking stove down the street on her head or the boy on the bicycle delivering, on his head, a huge tray of pastries. Women carry some things on their backs, such as pigs, sheep, goats and calves as well as babies. Indian men carry loads on their backs and they and the lower class mestizo perform the manual labor. Women with their vegetables and flowers, handcrafts and textiles trudge long distances before dawn to arrive at the opening of the city market where they have an assigned stand. Here they sell their wares and learn the news and gossip. An attempt to buy a vendor's entire stock because it would serve as excellent souvenirs and gifts more often than not meets with failure. The vendor has labored days, weeks or months to produce enough for a day at the market. He will not be cheated out of his opportunity to spend the *entire* day at the market and learn *all* the news and gossip and see all friends. It would be equally useless to try to arrange with a craftsman to produce a dozen or more of his product all exactly alike. It would be too monotonous and unartistic to produce them.

Sheep, cattle, swine, goats are still herded as in the early centuries of Spain. Pack animals are prodded and driven by barefoot *cholos* and *cholas* in the Andes or by *peones* in other regions and they transport freight that might better be delivered by truck, if there were enough of it. One *chola* can carry as much as two llamas but she can manage a large herd of the domesticated beasts of burden. Much other labor could be done faster and more efficiently by machinery. But this would displace workers for the machinery is produced elsewhere and imported. Furthermore, it would require the outlay of considerable capital. The attitude to this will be seen in a later chapter.

Illiteracy is the one commodity not in short supply in Spanish America since it ranges from some 25% in some countries to 80% or 85% in others. Governments in general have accepted the principle of state responsibility for education and have established free and compulsory primary education in nearly every country by law. Ironically, however, the law cannot be enforced because nowhere are there sufficient schools to accommodate all children of school age.

The standard of living for 80% to 90% of the population is of the subsistence level or lower. There are notable exceptions in such countries as Uruguay, Costa Rica where the majority of the population lives on small farms called *quintas*, Argentina with its tremendous territory and broad pampas, El Salvador where again the land is fairly well shared, Cuba where the standard of living was high before Castro took over, and perhaps sections of some two or three other countries. Ordinarily, large haciendas (or *estancias* in Argentina) are the rule and are perpetuated by the law of primogeniture. Even in El Salvador there is an occasional comparatively large estate, which is the only practical economic basis for a coffee industry under present economic practices. Wages are close to the subsistence level almost everywhere although, as usual, there are exceptions to this generaliation. The great mass of the people seldom own any real estate or live anywhere other than in cramped, unsanitary, crowded quarters with few necessities and no comforts, conveniences or luxuries of what the Anglo thinks of as civilized life. Many necessities, shoes for example, are luxuries which means that people are exposed to the cold in some regions and to numerous insects, germs and infections, not to mention snakes, in all regions. Among these people, the Indian who knows he has been wrongfully deprived of his past glorious civilization and his rightful place in the sun with an opportunity to enjoy at least the minimum comforts of modern life and humane treatment, has retreated within himself and become taciturn, morose and suspicious.

The people of the lower class know there is a better way of life for they cannot help but see evidences of it. They see trains, modern automobiles, the comfortable homes of the middle class and the larger, more luxurious ones of the upper class. They know about the parties, dances, cocktails, banquets and other social affairs, often because they can witness them through the iron grating of the windows. An anecdote, though not a regular occurrence, nevertheless points up this situation. An invitation had been extended by the minister of education (*Cultura Popular*) to attend a ceremony inaugurating a school lunch program after which there was to be a banquet at noon. First, the lackadaisical chauffeur forgot to fill the gasoline tank for the hundred-mile trip to the town of destination. Our party, therefore, arrived too late for the program but in time for the midday banquet. About halfway through the banquet the minister advised with a whispered chuckle that there was to be another banquet immediately following this one at the headquarters of the local labor syndicate! Fortunately, there was another albeit short program which mercifully permitted some disgestion thus making room for a little show of partaking of the second banquet. It took place on the ground floor of a large building of an earlier day and built flush with the sidewalk complete with windows protected by the ever-present wrought iron grill. While the guests gorged themselves at the second banquet they were the target of the eyes of innumerable starving urchins watching from the sidewalk through the wrought iron grills. They created no disturbance, but their eyes were solemn, eloquent and pitiful accusations of the unjust and heart rending contrast. The Spanish American is vociferous as a general rule only when defending an idea or a belief. Children have been known to fall with a skull crushing blow on the sidewalk, get up without a whimper or a sound and go their way. So here, the hungry children stoically watching the banquet made no disturbance.

To repeat, the lower class knows there is a better way of life, but they know not how to attain it. They have no education and if they could have it they would not be taught to think, rather to memorize or parrot back factual information. Hence, this mass of people is ripe for revolution, i.e., any means to a better way of life. It is a hothouse ready for the implantation of ideas and the communist offers an attractive bait. No doubt they have been saved so far by the Indian skepticism and the innate philosophical nature and individual dignity of the Spanish American masses. How long these elements can hold out against existing, everpresent conditions on the one hand and the attractive bait for foreign ideologies on the other is problematical.

The economy of Latin America is still one mainly of raw materials. The people in general extract their livelihood and wealth from farms, *quintas*, ranches, mines and forests. The quantity of manufactured goods is still small by comparison with the needs and much must be imported. Such goods as are manufactured, whether produced in a factory, at home or in small shops, are sold almost entirely within the country, and very often within the community. Signs of an industrial revolution are plentiful especially in some of the larger countries and Uruguay, but there are few heavy industries and the products of such industry must still be imported at no small additional cost. They are not in a position to produce planes, liners, warships, submarines, locomotives or automobiles and tractors although assembly plants of Anglo manufacturers have been installed. The manufacture of plumbing and electrical fixtures is neither up to standard nor standardized (an expression of inherent separatism?). Heavy electrical equipment, threshing machines, reapers, machinery for mines and factories or mills, rails or passenger coaches, even crossties for railroads in some cases, structural steel for bridges and buildings, machine tools of any kind, all must be imported from foreign producers. Such large manufacturing plants as have been established are owned or at least managed by foreigners. Little effort has been made to produce for home consumption, especially in the matter of agricultural products. Meat, except in Uruguay and Argentina, is in short supply and of poor quality while the proper technique of butchering is unknown. Industries engaged in processing meat and the organizations required for extracting minerals and metals are in the hands of foreigners with a few exceptions and even these require foreign technicians to be profitable.

Socio-economic Factors

One of the serious problems of Spanish America is the foreign domination of business, a situation perhaps more exaggerated here than anywhere else in the world. From earliest times commerce either drifted into the hands of or was originally initiated by foreigners other than Spaniards or Spanish Americans. The reasons for this have been set forth previously. Natural resources and other forms of business were often sold to the highest foreign bidder as concessions or for loans and the income thus acquired was recklessly spent by politicians. When nationals see foreign-owned business producing good returns on investments and the profits being taken out without benefit to the country, they often pass legislation governing the disposition of the profit and the number of foreigners who may be employed. The result of it all is economic nationalism with alternating periods of intense promotion and soft peddling. Having learned the lessons of foreign domination, political instability and world depression, the governments have attempted to put the national interest on a competitive plane. This situation, however, is complicated by the fact that national budgets are at the mercy of export and import duties. The decline of exports and the duties they produce has an immediate adverse affect upon the national budget and in turn causes a curtailment of domestic services and servicing of the foreign debt. Thus it becomes obvious that the domination of business by foreigners affects every phase of national life.

As early as World War I new social forces began to make themselves felt in the several countries. It is difficult to separate these forces and the various elements that have influenced the social structure. There have been workers' and students' organizations and they have often become allied. Women participate in both and have their own movements as well. Social reform in one realm is naturally influenced by reform in another.

The personal relationships between employer and employee are breaking down. Workmen have learned about new ways of life and about the outside world and its economic problems, many of them identical. Their first attempts at strikes were met by military force and crushed. Today, however, the strike is legitimate. While unions are becoming strong in some nations, in others labor is still far from organizing for the purpose of creating better working conditions.

Too many strikes have been accompanied by violence and were aimed primarily at gaining recognition of the union or *syndicato* as it is called. The cost of living has been a source of discontent everywhere. The currency has depreciated in varying amounts in different countries. In some it has remained stable on a one to one basis while in one, at last reports, it was 9,000 to one United States dollar. These conditions have been made worse by the refusal of the property owners to pay their fair share of taxes. Again they had to beat the system.

Labor organization has naturally followed European rather than North American models. Three conditions, however, have made the Spanish American labor movement less practical. First, and true to character, the impetus has usually come from the outside. The second is that the intellectuals have often been the first to adopt advanced social views and have employed a sort of dictatorship to pass them on (impose them) to the workers. The members of trade unions are likely to be counselled and guided by the friendly intellectual, student or the government. Third and finally, the movement did not grow slowly out of needs and ideals but was suddenly imposed by a full-blown industrial age. Instead of putting the emphasis where it ought to be, time has been lost and factions created by debates and discussions of ideologies — true to character again. Leadership has too often been opportunistic and of a Messianic character as described before. Dependence on government has made the labor movement subject to political ups and downs in addition to the fact that the inherited separatism has kept labor split into small factions. The lack of unity once again has cost its opportunity time after time.

The strongest unions are to be found in Argentina, Chile and Mexico. Everywhere they draw their membership from transportation, public utilities, petroleum and mining industries, textiles, food processing and agriculture. There are also unions of printers, hotel workers, civil servants and teachers. Industrial and agricultural workers hold about the same status as those employed in the "white collar" occupations. Quite often teachers, clerks, state and municipal employees, musicians, projectionists and even retail merchants have their own *sindicatos*, *uniones*, *cooperativos* and *sociedades*. These in turn may be affiliated with national trade union federations.

The predominantly raw-material producing and rural economy of Spanish America has been in all probability the major factor in shaping the character of its civilization. Such an economy is seldom able to finance the educational, health and other services such as communications for people scattered over hundreds of thousands of square miles of rugged or jungle terrain or living in innumerable isolated small towns and villages.

This situation was in no wise helped by an upper class that stigmatized manual or productive labor, large scale business organization, or organization of any kind for that matter, civic improvements, and gave no thought to the welfare of the masses. As a result, those who were capable failed to devote themselves energetically to increasing the national wealth, developing natural resources or to improving the economic efficiency of the millions who compose the lower class. They have not yet learned the value of human resources which began with the Anglo when he learned that the value of his body was eighty-six cents. This concept was gradually stretched until it included the total earning or producing power or potential over an entire life span.

Time is an important factor seldom taken into consideration in treatments of Spanish America. It requires time for human beings to mature psychologically and this applies not only to human growth but also to growth in the acceptance and understanding of ideas or concepts. This is especially applicable to political and intellectual independence in the area under discussion. It requires time, also education, to grow up to the responsibilities of statehood and to appreciate and comprehend its obligations as well as its privileges. Hence, it must not be forgotten by the Anglo that, in general, the Spanish American obtained his independence a half century later. It is not unjust to compare the United States fifty years ago with Spanish America today as far as individual and collective initiative is concerned, and this must be the source of all lasting values. To the foregoing must be added such factors as geographical environment and climate, racial composition and spirit, the colonial heritage and the costly struggle for independence. There are also the problems typical of tropical regions where the people must cope with tropical insects, diseases, reptiles, the debilitating heat, the lack of invigorating seasonal changes, long rainy seasons, tremendous areas of jungle or desert, swamps, and the vagaries of volcanoes. Of course there are inhabitable areas with pleasant and even exhilirating climates part if not all of the year. While only a few countries are entirely situated within the temperate zone, yet others rise to and even pass through it. For example, one may find himself too cool more often than too warm on the equator if he happens to be at an elevation above 9,000 or 10,000 feet, as in Quito, Ecuador, fifteen miles to the south. The frequent and utterly thorough destruction wrought by landslides, earthquakes and volcanoes may also engender a fatalism that defeats all progress or at least preserves a large measure of superstition and apathetic inertia.

As has been indicated previously, the heritage from Spain continues to be a handicap unless the ultimate goal of Spanish America is the preservation of the status quo. A class system with a ruling caste at the top, a wealthy, powerful and intolerant church, inefficient administration, an aristocratic educational system, a dependence on a higher source for all things needed for sustenance, a Messianic attitude and a belief in knowledge for the sake of knowledge alone will not produce a technological civilization; it will produce grasshoppers and not ants; it will maintain an aristocratic society that lives upon the sweat and labor of the masses as it has always done down through the ages. The dawn of the industrial revolution first followed by that of the age of science and technology and democracy in Anglo land and Western Europe found Spanish America lingering in the Middle Ages and laboring under the suspicion that it has not felt the effects of the Renaissance. Here again is the same old story: new ideas, processes, techniques when they appeared in Spanish America were brought in belatedly by foreigners in the main who continue to own, operate, manage or control them. The sad part may be that the Spanish American made no effort to learn and apply the new ideas, techniques and processes for his own benefit, yet he posseses a way of life from which the Anglo could profit to his great advantage — it may not be too late yet.

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Chapter IX

Attitudes And Beliefs

Attitude to Time and Work

Since the arrival of the first pilgrims in North America there has been an Anglo American tradition of neighborliness, of neighbors helping each other, especially in times of both good fortune and bad. There were log-rollings, barn-raisings, helping each other with the harvest, community grain-threshings, helping each other build houses, cure the sick, and an endless list of other helpful acts. This tradition became so deeply embedded that it eventually took form in a national manifestation of the desire to help international neighbors.

Attempts at international cooperation have largely been crude and clumsy, lacking the success they might have had. Part of the failure was due to Anglo sophistication and, therefore, lack of understanding of the simple, and sometimes primitive nature, of the real needs of the people to be helped. It was also due in a large measure to the desire to show off, to demonstrate how good Anglos are. Anything that was not done as it is done in Angloland was not done right. Consequently, many a psychological and economic blunder was committed, and in many cases Anglos became the laughing stock thus defeating their own purposes far too often, and those who were to have been helped eventually became cynical and simply exploited what turned out to be simple-minded lavishness.

The neighbor who is to be helped must be understood. Condescending good will combined with the tender of vast quantities of money is not helpful and, in fact, is damaging, resented and eventually cynically exploited. One well-meaning benefactor is played off against another to the amusement and amazement of the so-called "backward" country. To understand a neighbor means first of all being able to speak and understand his language. This, at long last, Anglos may be coming to understand. But this is not enough by far. It is not even possible to understand his language without knowing something of his customs and culture, manners and personality, and these are combined with beliefs and attitudes. Some of the beliefs and attitudes of the Spanish American have already been touched upon. There are others needing to be brought out before they can all be put together to form a composite of Spanish American character and personality, however vague it may be at the present state of the art.

The Anglo tradition of neighborliness is rapidly breaking down, probably because of the great mobility of the population. It is said that one of every five families moves every year. This has weakened many family ties, broken up neighborhoods and communities and there are ghost towns in many states. The result is that people all together too frequently do not know their next-door neighbor. In exchange for the mobility of the population, however, people are becoming accustomed to seeing strangers, of thinking in terms of what is happening beyond the city limits, beyond the county line and the state line, because there are members of the family and friends in other states and perhaps clear across the nation or overseas. There have also been contacts with foreigners and travel abroad which help broaden the horizon. No longer are Anglo Americans isolationists. They are interested in, or at least no longer unaware of, other countries, other peoples. They are beginning to realize that as individuals live in a society, so nations live in a community of nations and that they must learn to live together on all levels. Furthermore, they are beginning to realize that if their standard of living is not shared in part the whole may be taken away with the consequent impoverishment of the entire world. This in turn makes them want to know their neighbors, makes them realize that the Pan American Highway is not a one-way street and that if our neighbors across the street (across the Caribbean) are not our friends they may turn against us. To prevent this catastrophe, Anglo Americans are beginning to realize the necessity of getting acquainted with those neighbors, of learning their language and of making friends among them. This again brings us back to learning their language, their customs and their way of life. There is a need to understand their personality, their way of thinking and reacting, their philosophy and some of their psychology. They are a friendly people and will meet any one more than half way.

Unlike the Anglo, however, the Spanish American is more interested in the past and the present for he is not a visionary with his eyes set on the promise of a beckoning future. Nor is he a dreamer brooding over the glories of the past, yet they are important to him and he does not forget them. Rather he is a realist concerned with the problems and rewards of the immediate present. For centuries in the early history of Spain the future brought almost nothing different from what was already at hand and so offered no particular promise and was not anticipated with joy nor feared. But the present must be dealt with now. It has its problems and its demands which must be satisfied and its rewards are to be enjoyed now or not at all. This and related attitudes are ably and interestingly discussed by Saunders in his book *Cultural Differences And Medical Care*.

The Spanish American, particularly in the American Southwest and the Spaniard before him, has had some contact, directly or through his ancestors, with a village type of agricultural society. In the village the rhythms of life were seasonal rather than daily. The effect of this is to make what one does on a particular day of little importance and what one does during the year all important. Because communities were small there was no complex division of labor. Most people did what others of their age and sex were doing and pretty much at the same time in a similar way. There were no complicated, interrelated activities such as domestic life in urban and industrial centers. People did not have to get up at a fixed time so as to have breakfast in time to start to the office or other work early enough to drop the children at school on the way. Rather, a man awoke in the morning knowing from the season which tasks needed attention that day. But there was never anything urgent about them and the order in which he chose to do them mattered little or he could put them off until another day. There being no regular, timed employment, no bills arriving regularly at the first of the month, no tension from competition, no formal organizations, no particular value accorded to precision or accuracy, few clocks and no resources or skills to be developed or sold in the market place, there was no cause to be concerned with time. Hence, through many generations of almost imperceptible cultural changes time became of no particular consequence. Thus there is a definite contrast in attitude toward time between the two ethnic groups under consideration here.

Stated in somewhat extreme form the difference is that the Anglo is primarily oriented toward the future, the Spanish-speaking person toward the present and to a lesser extent to the past. Anglos tend to be much preoccupied with time. They carry watches and refer to them frequently while huge clocks are displayed prominently in public buildings. Clocks are displayed in store windows, offices, depots, in every room in school buildings, and on towers where chimes also ring out the hour as often as every fifteen minutes. Radio and television programs cannot run long without reminding the audience of the time. Appointments are made for a specific hour and minute and much importance is attached to being "on time." Days are divided into quarter hours and timing is often reduced to five and ten minute units. Activities are allotted specific amounts of time as if it were something both precious and limited. Living is a daily process, if not hourly, and routines are developed in which the same thing is done at the same time every day, except perhaps Sunday, or on the same day of the week. Time is said to be money because units of it represent a certain amount of something that can be produced or amount of money that can be earned. And to waste time is considered almost immoral — what one does is not as important as being busy. Idleness is subject to censure and calls for an explanation and may result in embarrassment.

Calendars are as important as clocks in the eyes of the Anglo and they are likewise to be found everywhere. Nearly every home has at least one and most offices have several. An important status symbol is a wrist watch that not only tells time to the fifth of a second but also the month and date. And it must keep accurate time. Calendars are consulted frequently, and most Anglos would feel a little apologetic if they could not give the date, month and year on an instant's request. As a matter of fact, a part of the test for sanity in the Angelo culture is a question asking for the day and year. It is customary for many Anglos to plan and even schedule their time, sometimes far into the future, perhaps over years. Consequently, devices or calendars which aid in determining the day of the week on which a given date will fall next year or five years later are in demand. There is even a fad for perpetual calendars. They are likely to know just what they will be doing at a given time next year or the year after. Most of the activities in which they engage are more important for their future aspects than for the present. Much time and effort are spent on attempts to control the future so that the present is not important for itself. but rather for the opportunity it offers to prepare for the future or for future activities. Hence, most activities are not ends in themselves, for Anglos, but rather are a means to an end which lies in the future. The Anglo works in order to be, or for his dependents to be, rewarded later on.

On the other hand, the Spanish American has no very definite concept of the future and prefers immediate rewards. This is what the Anglo usually calls the "mañana attitude" in which the more philosophical Spanish American is seen putting off until tomorrow or some later date what does not actually have to be done today. He does today only those things that can be done at no other time. If what has to be done is work, as in the case of getting in the harvest or perhaps satisfying the need for some money, then he will work, perhaps not gladly nor with any great drive, but with an uncomplaining acceptance of responsibility for fulfilling the need. If what has to be done today is something else, such as taking part in a fiesta or in the celebration of a birthday or the day of the Patron Saint, or visiting relatives or the sick, then what must be done now or never is done and anything that can be postponed until another time, such as work, is postponed. In a very real sense the Spanish American lives in and for the present, a circumstance that is often misunderstood by the hurrying, time conscious Anglo who lives *in* today but *for* tomorrow.

As other aspects of culture, the attitudes toward time are so much a part of the culture and seem so right and natural that it is difficult to understand how anyone could have a different point of view. To an Anglo the future is all important and not to be concerned about it is incomprehensible to him. He will sacrifice the present for some possible gain in the uncertain future, and this is equally inconceivable to any one reared in the Spanish American culture. The difference may be exemplified by the following version of an old fable.

The eminently sensible grasshopper lives each day according to the imperatives of the day, enjoying what may be enjoyed, enduring what must be endured. The coming of winter brings more than he can endure, and he perishes, having lived fully and well, albeit briefly. On the other hand, the foolish ant, with an eye to the future, toils throughout the summer, storing up food against the coming cold and hardships. He survives the winter and is rewarded with another summer's toil and a continuous repetition of the same laborious life. Which of the two foregoing versions, the stated one or the original fable, one prefers depends upon one's set of values. There is no way of proving that one story is better than the other, or that one point of view about the relative importance of present and future is better than the other. The most that can be expected is that one be aware of the possibility that there can be a point of view other than his own and that persons having different attitudes toward time may be expected to behave somewhat differently in given situations, at least some of the time. For example, in Peru when one makes an appointment with a Peruvian, he may ask "Peruvian time or English time?" If the answer is "Peruvian time," one need not hurry to the appointment. If the answer is "English time," punctuality is anticipated.

Closely related to a social attitude toward time are the views of a society's members concerning change and progress. Anglos have long since learned not only to accept change, but to anticipate and even desire it. For some three centuries they have been living in a social milieu of rapid change. Hardly a day passes without new inventions, new discoveries, new "breakthroughs," products, relationships, even new mathematics and laws of physics and chemistry, automation and finally thinking computers and space travel. The automobile industry brings out new styles, mechanical improvements, gadgets, each year and this has probably done as much as any one thing to accustom the Anglo to change. Changes in methods and increased velocities in transportation and communications have made powerful contributions. There are new sources of power bringing new advantages, responsibilities and dangers . . . but they are new. The Anglo dreams of having the largest, the first, the longest, the - - st of almost any adjective in the dictionary. He has come to deal in a casual way in superlatives. The business world proclaims that "there is a better way to do it, find it!" which also implies change. Newness is to be desired, oldness is undersirable.

Much of the attractiveness of new things derives from their being considered better than the old so that the notion of progress comes to be associated with change. Progress is a self-evident fact which cannot be doubted when the evidence is all around. Not only is there a multitude of new things, but each is bigger, better, more efficient, more durable, brighter, more powerful, more convenient, more mechanized, more accurate, more comfortable, than its predecessors. Not only is this the best of all possible worlds, but by the minute it is getting better. Progress is being made, even toward the solution of the many vexing problems. The notion that change is good and progress inevitable is probably more deeply ingrained in the Anglo than any one other thing.

The Spanish American has a more mature or settled orientation toward change and progress. He has some thirteen centuries of history behind him and he and his ancestors have lived for many generations in an environment in which there was almost no change — even after he came to the New World. There were no efforts toward innovation, no reason to do so and, had they occurred, they might have seemed dangerous. Isolated from the mainstream of civilization on many occasions, cut off from the most meager of contacts with cosmopolitan centers, and living, for the most part in a harsh environment and struggling for survival, the Spanish American had but little opportunity to either experience or to initiate change. With the exception of certain sporadic spectacular occurrences, the change that occurred within the life time of a man was almost unnoticeable. The village of an old man was essentially the same as when he was born into it. Neither people, nor objects nor events changed very much. If they thought of the future at all, it was seen as simply an extension of the present. There being little or no change, there could be no notion of progress. Since there was no concept of progress, there could be no desire for change. Security and stability lay in the old, the familiar, and the well-tested ways and techniques. Uncertainty, and possibly danger, came with the new, the unfamiliar, the untried. And why should one change?, it brings no good to the individual, rather one is already the best he could possibly be for he was created by God. This was seen in a previous chapter.

Closely related to a group's orientation to time and its attitude toward change and progress are the values its members place on work, achievement and success, and on efficiency. Here again one may note wide differences between the Anglo and the Spanish American ideals.

Anglos are doers, they like to be busy and, as a group, they value activity above contemplation. They pay great homage to the virtue of industriousness. Work is an end in itself regardless of any future return or outcome it may bring. Idleness is next to immorality so that one of the worst things that can be said of an individual is that he is lazy, *i.e.*, he does not like work. Those who do not work or who work reluctantly are regarded as being ill or otherwise deficient. One is identified with and by his work. The question, "Who is he?" is best answered by telling what he does. To say that a man is a teacher, a doctor, a carpenter, a businessman, etc., is to identify him sufficiently to the satisfaction of all. The extent of identification with one's work is seen in the reluctance to retire, or even to be gone from the job too long. One of the problems of unemployment is the sense of loss of identity — one is not related to some "worthwhile activity" and thus loses identity — he is no longer the plumber, the bricklayer, the businessman, the consultant, or whatever it was that identified him before. The lack of something to do is an added cause of discontent and perhaps unbalance.

The emphasis upon work is naturally associated with the preoccupation with success. To be trite, work is the road to success, if it has any meaning at all. Success can be defined only in terms of the ambition, the psychological make-up, the needs and wishes of the individual. It may be measured in terms of objective recognition by others as much as by subjective satisfaction with a job well done. It is the recognition that one has attained goals that are commonly accepted and desired. The road that leads there may not always be clear and wide open to public inspection, neither will it always be critically judged. This preoccupation with success is often projected generations ahead and parents want to be sure that they have given their children what is considered to be the proper background so that they will have the "right kind of start." This is supposed to make life easier for them and better than the life their parents had. The notion that they in turn ought somehow to be a success also acts as a constant incentive to Anglos to "keep their noses to the grindstone." They work for a "successful" although not always clearly defined "future," which more likely than not, will be vastly different from anything known at the time.

The emphasis on success brings with it some corollaries or minor values related to work under the names of efficiency and practicality. Anglos pride themselves on being "practical" to the extent that they say, "If it isn't practical it isn't worth while." It is the technology or "know-how" that is the basis for this efficiency. Consequently, they are inclined to be impatient with theoretical considerations or with the philosophical aspects or implications of the job to be done. They want to go directly to the activities that will lead to immediate completion of the task in hand. They want to get it done, only to start something else which likewise must be finished in a hurry, and thus it continues ad infinitum. This carries over even to their entertainment and they want to "hurry up and have a good time," and they often wonder why the Spanish American is so slow in getting started on the business of having a good time. It is very much like the secretary who had spent the evening touring the entertainment spots of the city with her employer. When she said good-night after a strenuous evening she said, "It's a business to do pleasure with you."

The Anglo always wants to get on with the practical. He is likely to say, "I agree with you in theory, but it just isn't practical." The Anglo is much more concerned with the "practical" and the "efficient" than he is with the artistic, beauty or attractiveness, with content rather than with form.

In all of the foregoing attitudes, the Spanish American has quite a different viewpoint. He is much more concerned with *being* than with *doing*, as we have seen. This may be related, in the first place, to the fact that over the centuries in village and rural life, no individual was identified by what he did since there was little or no specialization and no one did anything that could not be done by anybody else. To identify a village or rural neighbor, it was necessary to know what family he belonged to, his age perhaps, and his sex and his position in the family, to whom he was related, and rank or reputation in the community, or where he lived, *i.e.*, which house or which hacienda and, in some cases, the public office he held in the village. The emphasis on *being* may also be related to the lack of opportunities for doing. Add to these considerations the explanation set forth in Chapter IV concerning caste and class, and it becomes clear that the only differentiation between persons was in terms of what he was. At any rate, there never developed among the Spanish Americans a great concern for doing. Activity was not highly valued and work was looked upon as something pertaining to a lower caste and was, therefore, in itself lowering. Work was the lot of the lower caste and so was to be abjured. In Spanish America this carried over to a class or two below the upper caste where work was considered the lot of man, the price of the hereafter, and he did no more than needed to be done. Indeed, why do more when it would result only in more food than one could eat, or more clothes than one could wear, or more other things than one could use? When the results of one's work are products that must be immediately consumed or utilized, work beyond the ability to consume or use is meaningless. With few storage facilities and little opportunity to trade, the Spanish American developed no tradition of work either as an end in itself or as a means to a possibly more abundant life. Furthermore, the Anglo's all-important security is provided for in a different manner by the Spanish American family as will be seen in connection with family life.

Circumstances that might have set a precedent for success were also absent in village and rural life. A person was esteemed on the basis of his possession of qualities that for the most part were the qualities of others of his sex and age and that were definitely self-limiting. Where everyone has the same characteristics and skills, it is almost impossible for anyone to be outstanding. Where esteem is based on such uncontrollable factors as age and sex, family membership and centers in such matters as being a good son, a good father, a good provider, a faithful wife, the ability of the invidual to command very much of it through his own efforts is definitely restricted. There were simply no avenues in the village and rural life through which "success" as the Anglo knows it could be achieved. Consequently, no tradition or cult of success and no particular awareness that one must be either a success or a failure ever developed. There are no success stories.

In the same way, there was little concern for practicality or efficiency. Familiarity with time-tested techniques bred content — they worked and there was no reason to question either their practicality or efficiency, especially since time was not at a premium. The old ways gave fairly certain and predictable results. Experience, knowledge and wisdom were at a premium. Furthermore, if one spent a large part of his time doing what he wanted to do, a certain practicality was assured by the fact that satisfactions were certain to follow the activity or it would not be continued. Since goals were relatively few, simple, immediate, and attainable, the question of the practicality of a given course could quickly and easily be settled. A basic reason for the development of a concern for efficiency is undoubtedly that it is economical in terms of time and effort. But in rural life there was no concern with time, and effort was regarded as the lot of man who was born to toil: does not the Bible say so? More efficient means of crop husbandry might have produced more abundant yields, but for what? More efficient techniques of animal husbandry might have brought about a much better quality of livestock, but why?

The Anglo finds it difficult to understand why Spanish American people seem to have no ambition, why they apparently have no drive for success and are seemingly or actually content to live year after year with no observable striving to "rise above their circumstances." He is likely to interpret this in his own terms, in terms of his own culture, and in accordance with his values and therefore classify it as lack of "gumption" or, what is more likely, as laziness or perhaps some other characteristic equally undersirable or even despicable. A frequent complaint of Anglo supervisors is that Spanish Americans lack initiative in seeking another task to do upon completion of one that has just been assigned to them. Having finished one job, they sit and wait for further orders, a practice that makes considerable sense when seen in the light of rural attitudes and values, but which proves frustrating to Anglos with different attitudes, and different notions about how employees ought to behave. Also, they very often construe orders or instructions much more literally than the Anglo would expect as an anecdote will demonstrate.

Mobile educational missions were being organized in one of the Other American Republics for the purpose of taking to state capitals all the necessary personnel and equipment for the staging of one week in-service workshops. Some of the personnel were Anglos who were not accustomed to the water of the country and health precautions were necessary. Hence, canvass water-bags were to be used for the purpose. When they arrived the national who was in charge of the warehouse was instructed to obtain distilled water and put the water-bags to soak for twenty-four hours. It later developed that he actually obtained the distilled water, and put the water-bags to soak — in water out of the local system.

A closely related trait of the Spanish American people is their somewhat greater readiness to accept things as they are, and their resignation. The Anglo believes that man has a responsibility to improve nature, the conditions surrounding him and to struggle against and, if possible, to master the problems and difficulties that beset him. Along with this goes the belief in the possibility of improving himself, of improving human nature. On the other hand, the Spanish American is more likely to accept and to resign himself to whatever "destiny" brings him. And "destiny" is whatever God wills, or whatever fate has in store for him. But the Anglo, with his eyes on the future, tells himself and his friends that "while there is life there's hope." Greater difficulties mean greater obligations to struggle to overcome them, and the success stories that Anglos tell each other and their children are frequently of cultural heroes who were distinguished by the fact that against great odds and a high probability of failure they struggled and won success. The stories of the rise of President Lincoln from log cabin to White House, and the numerous tales of young men who started with determination and a shoestring and rose to fame and fortune affirm not only a belief in democratic values but also the need to rebel against circumstances, to overcome environmental limitations and, by effort, to reach the goals of one's own choosing. The environment is something to be manipulated, to be changed to suit his needs, and the Anglo reserves his deepest admiration for those who "never say die," or who "die with their boots on." And he suffers from stomach ulcers.

By contrast, the success story has no meaning, no attraction for the Spanish American. He cannot understand its appeal to the Anglo. He is more likely to meet difficulties by adjusting to them rather than by attempting to overcome them. He is not overly repelled by discomforts nor is he greatly attracted by many of the comforts and conveniences that the Anglo cannot do without. Fate is somewhat inexorable, and there is nothing much to be gained by struggling against it. If the lot of man is hard . . . and it frequently is . . . such is the will of God, incomprehensible but it must be just since it is His will, and it is man's obligation to accept it. Behind the Spanish American there is no tradition of heroes who conquered against great odds excepting, of course, the few conquistadores. In the collective memory of rural life there is only the remembrance of men and women who were born, resigned themselves to suffering and hardship along with occasional joys, and died when their time came. Great and stirring deeds were not the accomplishments of rural life. No one conquered disease, or changed the face of the earth, or composed memorable music, or invented a mechanical labor-saving device — in short, no one exemplified the heights to which a man could rise if only he had vision and courage and will power. It is not intended to imply that there were no men of vision and valor among the ancestors of present-day Spanish Americans. There certainly were and there are among those now alive. But the particular kinds of valor and vision required for one to feel consistently that he not only can but should make the attempt to triumph over difficulties and obstacles, however great they may be, were not developed to any considerable degree by the kinds of experiences that rural Spanish Americans have had historically.

Conformity

Another manifestation of the general attitudes of acceptance is a kind of passivity toward persons in authority which has led Anglo employers and supervisors to comment on the "docility" of Spanish American employees who, as a consequence, are thought to be exceedingly responsive to orders and demands made upon them by their employers. To the extent that docility as a characteristic of Spanish Americans exists either in the American Southwest or in Spanish America it is likely to be the manifestation of the general tendency to accept circumstances rather than rebel against them, to adjust by conforming rather than by resisting, the centuries-long tradition of *being* rather than doing. And they are healthy and contented.

As has been noted in a previous chapter, however, the tendency to accept or conform does not mean that the Spanish American lacks strong feelings of individuality and is content to be an undifferentiated member of a group. On the contrary, as many Spanish Americans themselves have noted, there is a need for self-assertion and to be recoginized for one's personal qualities, a need that finds some fulfillment in the establishing of personal relationships which is a means of magnifying the invidual personality referred to in Chapter IV. This is that quality which is sometimes referred to as "Machismo" or an exaggerated emphasis on masculinity. The manifestation is sometimes seen in outbursts of temper and, sometimes, overt aggression, and in a highly developed skill in public speaking. Let it not be forgotten, however, that the all-important aim of the Spanish American, handed down from centuries of Iberian history, is the art of *being*. This is almost incomprehensible to the Anglo who is governed rather by the need for accomplishment, for doing. This trait, which is mistakenly called individualism, is seen in the inability of Spanish Americans to become embued with an energetic and zealous enthusiasm for abstractions such as "the job," the political platform, the political ideal, the social ideal, the social welfare, the cold, impersonal principles of science. Instead, they seek to establish personal relationships even in situations which, by Anglo standards do not warrant them. For example, they cannot understand either employment or promotion on the basis of merit. It must be on the basis, as a Spanish American friend once said rather emphatically, of *whom* one knows, not *what* one knows. Inevitably, there will be an attempt to establish these personal relationships with employers, politicians, and other persons of influence and authority. An Anglo can and often is loyal to a job, to an organization, to an ideal or a principle and expects no more recognition than that which naturally accrues to his impersonal relationships with those about him in the organizational hierarchy. The Spanish American will reserve his loyalty for persons, especially for those above him. Hence, the Anglo employer or supervisor who expects the Spanish American to respond to impersonal Anglo incentives and rewards, satisfaction with a job well done, etc., is more than likely to be disappointed. But the employer, boss or supervisor who operates on the basis of personal relationships and utilizes the loyality of the Spanish American to him as a person will be far better satisfied with the work done.

Related to the foregoing are such matters as attitudes toward independence. The Anglo has a cherished preference for independence and an equal distrust of the dependent state. The ideal Anglo stands on his own two feet and is not willing to accept the status of being under obligation to any one. This is true to such an extent that it is often most difficult for one Anglo to do a favor for another. Anglos find it necessary to learn how to accept favors graciously. In their view independence can hardly be overdone, and dependence of the slightest degree is regarded as undesirable, if not downright pathological. Anglos neither like to be dependent nor to have others dependent upon them, and an implicit obligation of one who receives help is that he will at the earliest possible moment take whatever action may be necessary to make him independent again.

In the Spanish American culture there is no consciousness of independence — one simply doesn't think about it. The unit of independence was the rural or village community — not the individual — and each community was relatively self-sufficient. Within the community, however, there was considerable interdependence. The fortunes of the individual members varied almost directly with those of the community. Between the adult individual and his family — the family includes three or more generations as well as uncles, aunts, cousins, nieces, nephews — was a reciprocal of mutual interdependence in which each supported and was supported by the other. Intermarriages between families tied the entire community together in a network of relationships through which each individual could claim assistance from almost any one else and was expected to give similar assistance when it was needed. A dependent status, when it was necessiated by misfortune or indicated by the circumstances in which an individual found himself, was not considered extraordinary. Other persons rendered whatever services or gave what ever goods were required and, in time, the individual either died or again became able to carry his share of the load. There were, of course, no agencies whose specialized function was to give material assistance of any kind — unless the *patrón* (feudal lord, hacienda owner, employer or boss) be thought of as a kind of agency — and people helped or were helped as circumstances dictated and they passed in and out of the dependency relationships with each variation of their familial and individual fortunes, and with no thought that a dependent status might be wrong or dangerous or undesirable. In fact, the interrelationships and dependency extend much further than is conceivable to an Anglo. For example, children from one family are brought up in another under circumstances that indicate no particular need or even reason for what the Anglo would consider "shirking one's responsibilities." Family life is the same in all families, habits, manners, customs, mores, everything, are all the same in all families, hence it makes little difference which family raises a child. And, anyway, all families are interdependent; what one has belongs to all and all is for any one who needs it. Property lines and possessions are not so firmly fixed nor so important.

Thus, it is seen that dependence has one meaning for the Spanish American, and quite a different meaning, standards and significance for the Anglo. The latter will accept help from another individual or from an agency only very reluctantly, according to the rugged American tradition, and is immediately obligated to become independent at the earliest possible time. In the view of the Spanish American, assistance should be given to those who need it with need being determined subjectively, mostly by the request of the needy one, and this request is not to be treated lightly nor questioned regarding its validity. Each naturally evaluates a given situation in terms of his own point of view, and in the differences in point of view lie the bases for many misunderstandings between members of the two groups.

Spanish Americans think of themselves as citizens of the republic in which they happen to reside and on occasion, such as a boundary dispute with a neighboring republic, can be quite patriotic. Their patriotism, however, is more often an expression of dislike or strong opposition to the United States more than an attempt to exclude other Spanish American states. A good example is the "*Haga patria*" slogan referred to in the chapter on Economics and Business Methods where the real purpose is to boycott Anglo products.

The fact that their patriotism does not exclude other Spanish American states has already been hinted at with reference to the fact that when one is attacked the others rally around. It has deep roots inasmuch as they consider themselves united in a single large family as it were by common cultural and spiritual bonds derived through their Spanish heritage directly from God. As has been shown previously, for the Spanish American, the spiritual is more important than other aspects. They consider themselves almost a chosen people, bound together by a common destiny. And they make much of this destiny as a personal matter in their everyday lives. The concepts of a chosen people and a common destiny are often telescoped and synthesized into the shorter expression *La Raza*.

Their destiny, they think, is probably defeated and made unrealizable by the sins of individuals and the only ones free from sin are little children. Fate is thought to be a mechanism of God's will and, although the fate of the individual is decided before birth, God has the power to alter it. The result is that things and circumstances are accepted as they are. It is God who controls events (*El hombre propone y Dios dispone.*) and not man so that there is nothing to be gained by planning for the future. It is better to live for today and live it to the fullest in the allotted role.

Practical Aspects

The foregoing analysis of some of the attitudes and philosophy of Spanish Americans in contrast with those of the Anglos carries with it the obligation to indicate applications. This implies that the reader plans to cross the cultural boundary, or perhaps merely place himself in the position of one who has. In either case he is consciously aware of the fact that his own cultural standards, values and attitudes no longer operate. Therefore, he plans to make appropriate adjustments. But what of the Anglo who unwittingly crosses the boundary? This can and does easily happen within the continental boundaries of the United States and may be the primary cause of much misunderstanding and even friction. Many Spanish Americans within the United States and some outside speak English well (many do not at all) and this leads the Anglo to forget that he has crossed the cultural boundary. This also happens in reverse when a bilingual Anglo sojourns in Spanish America. The unconscious crossing of the cultural boundary poses some problems which were first treated in the publication by Lyle Saunders under the title of *Cultural Differences and Medical Care* referred to on a previous page. It is an excellent treatment and is commended to the reader. In it there is to be found an excellent treatment of the problem of obtaining the cooperation of Spanish Americans with Anglo doctors in the American Southwest. The book uncovers some pertinent traits in the Spanish American but often misses the general underlying principle. A paraphrasing in brief of some of the medical misunderstandings or failures indicated in the book will point up the effect of cultural differences and they are equally valid in the American Southwest and in Spanish America.

Dr. Saunders insists upon the principle that Anglos should resist the temptation to equate cultural differences and habits with ignorance or lack of intelligence. People may be relatively ignorant in the sense that they do not know the same things others do or do not do things the same way, but it is unlikely that they are either completely or largely lacking in knowledge. It cannot be said that many Spanish-speaking people are lacking in knowledge of disease and its treatment. In the field of medicine a case in point may be cited. The above mentioned study of attitudes toward medicine and of medical beliefs among the Spanish-speaking people of the United States Southwest hints at some of the things that will be discovered in Spanish America. Depending upon their background they may have different ideas of diagnosing and treating a given illness and they may refuse to carry out an Anglo doctor's instructions, or may substitute their own techniques, but this is not the same as having no ideas. For the purpose in hand, intelligence is the application of knowledge to the solution of problems. Before evaluating the reasoning process, however, it becomes necessary to know what knowledge was available and the attitude toward the situation.

The viewpoint taken by the Anglo may be vastly different from that of the Spanish-speaker yet they both use the same vocabulary to talk about the same situation. The result is a breakdown in communication which, though unknown to those concerned, may result from a lack of ability to speak or understand a common language well, from differences in educational levels, from differing cultural orientations, from the use of incomprehensible technical language, or from differences in familiarity with the particular kind of medical situation. The personality pattern, that is the innate courtesy, of Spanish-speaking people is such that often they will not voluntarily call attention to areas of misunderstanding. Rather, they will agree to what is asked of them at the time, answer leading questions in a way calculated to please the doctor or other social worker, and reply in the affirmative when asked if they understand, even though they do not. In fact, to them it is impolite to say they do not understand for it is to accuse the speaker of not being clear. Furthermore, they will not ask the question, do you understand? This would be even more impolite. Sometimes they ask, do I make myself clear? (¿Me explico bien?)

Then there is the matter of giving instructions. If there is no relationship or similarity between the doctor's instructions and the patient's folklore and customary methods of treating disease, the patient will, in all likelihood, ignore the instructions. A doctor who knows this folklore and can make use of it may give instructions that "ring a bell," as it were, and the patient will follow through. An anecdote will illustrate this.

A physician had been called in to treat a baby suffering from diarrhea and wanted it to have boiled drinking water. He prescribed a weak tea made with an herb that was already familiar to the mother. A request to boil the water for the baby would have found no response because nothing in the mother's folklore called for boiled water and she would have ignored the instructions. But she immediately recognized the tea and the herb and had used them in the treatment of other illnesses. They made sense to her. As a result, the physician got what he wanted: sterile water for the baby. In addition, he strengthened the relationship between himself and the mother because he prescribed a remedy that she already knew was good.

Family affairs and other "trivial" considerations may be expected to take precedence at times over medical appointments. When this occurs, it may be helpful to remember that medical appointments are likely to be considered less important by the Spanish American than by the Anglo doctor or the health department personnel, and family affairs more important than Anglos usually consider them. Family affairs demand attention now; medical appointments and instructions in the future, which is unimportant.

Understanding culture and the way in which it molds individuals, the practitioner gains an appreciation of the fact that culture, or better, the group of people who are the bearers and transmitters of culture, is strongly resistant to change and yet is all the while changing. So the doctor may learn to accept, without frustration, the slowness of change, knowing all the time that change is inevitable.

Medicine itself is a complex institution and it has ramifications that reach their tentacles into all other institutions of a given society, and is in turn influenced by them. For example, in the United States, governmental agencies specify who may practice medicine and prohibit or regulate certain types of practice that physicians are qualified to carry on, such as abortion and the administration of narcotics. Different religious or denominations have something to say about and considerable influence over medical practice, at least some areas of it, and certain religious groups go so far as to claim that religious faith is the only therapeutic technique their members need. Medical knowledge is transmitted through the processes and structures of formal education, and it is by means of educational techniques and in educational situations that student physicians, nurses, social workers and other workers in the health field acquire the subcultural characteristics of their profession. The organization of hospitals is influenced by our cultural notions concerning the relations between the sexes as in the provision of separate wards for men and women patients, and the physical structure and internal arrangements of our medical buildings change from time to time in conformity with changing styles in architecture and new construction techniques. The practice of medicine requires time and effort, equipment and supplies, and so it is necessarily interrelated with many aspects of our economy. Medicine so interpenetrates and is penetrated by all other areas of organized group life, that it is difficult to separate them even conceptually. No medical act has meaning out of its cultural context, and a given act may have quite different meanings in different cultures. It is this close identification of medicine with the whole of culture that makes difficult the transplanting of techniques from one culture to another. It will be remembered that in Spain it was the Jews who were the leaders in western medicine up to the discovery of the New World. The Christian caste did not practice medicine but depended upon Jewish physicians for treatment. In the Southwest of the United States the Anglo doctors are slowly beginning to overcome their bias in medical matters with reference to the Spanish-speaking people, who in turn have their own biases. The Anglo doctor, however, operates on an assumption, as do advertisers for example, that there is a universal human nature which leads all normal people to respond in certain uniform ways in given situations.

The idea of a fixed human nature common to all people is a commonly accepted fiction. Rather than reacting in the same way to the same influences, regardless of their individual or social experience, human groups have worked out innumerable patterns of response to the environmental stimuli which they receive. How any given individual will behave in any given situation is, in fact, determined in large part by his learned perceptions of the elements of that situation and their meanings, and his learned set of responses, from which he selects those which seem appropriate. His "nature" certainly endows him with the capacity for learning and both makes possible and limits his learning and subsequent performance. But the particular ways in which, within those limits, he responds to situations is supposed to be largely a matter of cultural conditioning rather than genetic inheritance.

A second type of misconception, that can sometimes be avoided or minimized by training in the social sciences, is the rationalistic bias. Most of those in the Anglo American culture, and perhaps the medical profession to a somewhat greater degree than laymen, because of their training in science and preoccupation with scientific concerns, commonly exaggerate the extent to which reason is a controlling and determining force in human behavior and minimize the influence of tastes, preferences, emotions, customs, cultural norms, and other nonrational behavior motivating and orienting forces. Man is assumed to be a reasoning and thinking animal, conscious of and able to select and control the goals he is seeking and the means to achieve them. But although many of man's accomplishments have come about because of his ability to use and apply reason, a relatively small amount of what any of us does in a given day is motivated or given direction by strickly rational considerations. It is not very accurate even to attempt to distinguish between rational and nonrational behavior, since most of the ends or goals toward which "rational" activities are directed were not selected by any particular logical process and since there are always nonrational elements that enter into the selection of means for working toward these goals.

The rationalistic bias can lead medical men and women working in cross-cultural situations to see their own behavior as being highly determined by rational considerations and that of persons from another culture, to the extent that it may differ from theirs, as resulting from irrationality, ignorance or stupidity. Such a bias can obscure awareness of the fact that no given example of behavior can properly be judged as to its rationality unless the person making such a judgment knows the assumptions from which the behavior proceeds, the knowledge available to the actor, and the goals toward which the behavior is directed. If, for example, health is assumed to be a positive state which can and should be maintained by positive measures, then immunization for the prevention of disease is a rational act and failure to be immunized when the opportunity offers, may in the absence of other considerations, be fairly deemed irrational. But if disease is considered to be the positive state and if it is thought to be caused by the magical intervention of other persons or the malevolence of supernatural spirits or forces, then immunization as Anglos practice it, is, in the light of the assumptions, knowledge and goals of the one holding this view, an irrelevent act whose rejection is not unreasonable.

Another type of bias that may influence judgment in cross-cultural situations is that of ethnocentrism. This is simply the universal tendency of human beings to think that their ways of thinking, acting and believing are the only right, proper and natural ones and to regard the beliefs and practices of other people, particularly if they differ greatly, as strange, bizarre, or unenlightened.

Consequently, the physician who goes to work in a cross-cultural program may, at the beginning of his work, find himself in a bewildering situation. The familiar background is gone. People behave differently. The hospital does not exist. Dependable assistants are rare. New routines are required. New relationships must be established. Much of what was solid and natural and right is gone, and in its place are people who behave in unpredictable ways, physical arrangements in which things are in the right places or entirely lacking, norms and standards are "lower" or lacking, and there are social arrangements that do violence to one's sense of propriety.

In such situations there are strong pressures for medical men and women (substitute any trade, occupation or profession) to behave in one of two ways: to conclude that the new program is unworkable, that scientific medicine cannot be practiced under these conditions, and to give up the attempt; or to set about the task of reconstructing the situation in the image of the familiar environment at home. If the latter course is taken, equipment and supplies may be imported, routines set up, hospitals built and clinics organized and familiar types of personal and professional relations established. Regardless of the amount or type of such restructuring of the medical situation, the rationalization usually is that these arrangements are *necessary* for the giving of medical care or service. Underlying such rationalizations is the general assumption that good or adequate health service or medical care can be given only under a certain type of social organization which, on examination, frequently turns out to be a close approximation to the patterns with which the persons undertaking the program had become familiar back home.

The tendency to want to work under familiar conditions is an understandable one which people in health and medicine (or any other aid program in Spanish America) share with practically everyone else. If not understood or controlled, however, it can result in importing techniques and arrangements unsuited to the area (and even the purposes of the program) in which a cross-cultural program is intended to work and thus negate or at least hamper its functioning. One of the important skills needed by any one who works with people in a different culture is that of adjustment to both the environment and the people of that culture.

A field analysis of the impact of a technical aid program on the culture of the countries of Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and Peru carried out by the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution throws some interesting and more detailed light on the problem of cross-cultural activities. An attempt was made to determine what categories of culture should be known in order effectively to promote public health programs, and concrete illustrations are given of how knowledge of these aspects of culture facilitates program operations. The results of this program are reported by George Foster in *A Cross-Cultural Anthropological Analysis of a Technical Aid Program.*

In the discussion of the nature of folk medicine, no single central integrated theory of disease was found, either among the three Spanish American countries (Colombia, Mexico, Peru) or within any one of them. But there are some common themes and concepts which made it possible to treat the three countries as a unit. It was found that the single largest element in the total body of belief is that which has come down through two millenia from the humoral pathology of Hippocrates and Galen. Accordingly, health results when the four humors: blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile, are in proper proportions in the body. This balance is maintained by proper distribution within the body of the four elements, each of which is characterized by opposing qualities of heat, cold, moistness and dryness. This concept, obviously, came to Spanish America by way of the Moorish conquest of Spain. This became a part of the folk belief and much of it has persisted.

Today, therefore, there is a widespread tendency to explain much illness in terms of heat or cold which do not correspond to actual temperatures, but which are innate qualities of substances. Pneumonia, for example, is often classified as a "cold" disease, while typhoid fever may be "hot." Correspondingly, foods are frequently classified as hot or cold, as well as herbs and other remedies. In Xochimilco (Mexico), for example, some of the "hot" foods are sugar, honey, green chile, brandy, black coffee, human milk, garlic, peanuts, onions, salt. "Cold" foods are rice, spaghetti, potatoes, most meats, beans, most leafy vegetables, most fruits, coffee with milk, and chocolate. Lists differ in each village in Latin America, and there is no universal agreement as to what is "hot" and what is "cold." Nevertheless, in most places the idea exists, and has as a concommitant the feeling that a "hot" illness, i.e., one with a "hot" cause should be treated with "cold" medicaments and foods. One of the beliefs in Peru, for example, is that to wash dishes in hot water will cause pneumonia. Another is that one must not breathe the cold night air, hence people place handerchiefs over the mouth and nose if they must go outdoors at night.

There is also a belief that there is such a thing as *mal aire*, "bad air." This may be considered as an actual current of air, a current, a draft, which cools the body producing various types of illness. Contracting *aire* is almost inevitable if one emerges from a house with a "heated" body, or if one breathes air much cooler than that which one has been breathing. Hence, neither central heating nor air conditioning are popular as yet.

There are also the beliefs in magical illnesses and magical cures. The most important of these is "ojo", or *mal ojo*, and even *mal de ojo*, all having to do with the magic of the evil eye. These and the psychological illnesses are cured by *curanderos*, medicine men or women. There are also *remedios caseros*, or home remedies for many illnesses arising from other causes. Other folk concepts of health and medicine may be listed briefly as an indication of problems that may arise.

Health consists of feeling well and it is not possible to be ill if one feels well and has no evident symptoms of disease. Sickness is due to sins of omission or commission, or to fate and there is very little a well person can do or ought to do to keep himself well. Treatment is sought when a person falls ill, and usually there is an unwillingness to do very much until the person is quite ill. There seems to be some relationship between this attitude and the Spanish American concept of the maintenance of machinery: if a machine runs obviously it is all right and needs no care; it is clearly logical to repair it or give it any attention only when it needs it, i.e., when it ceases to function properly. Contributing to this is the attitude that it is shameful to be ill or admit that one is weak enough to succumb to germs. One should be *muy macho*, very much a man, a he man, able to absorb a good many disease-causing elements and still be unaffected. Tubercular victims particularly seem loath to admit that they are afflicted.

Bathing may be frowned upon, particularly if one is ill, but many, given the opportunity, will do so frequently. Ventilation is dangerous, particularly at night. Children's diseases are considered contagious while others, although medically known to be so, are not so considered popularly. Vaccination is both feared and desired, yet injections are probably the greatest medical fad. Whenever anyone thinks he is ill his first reaction is to obtain *una inyección*, in common parlance, a shot. There are those, too, who rebel at having anything stuck into the body. For further beliefs, folklore and details, the reader is referred to the above mentioned analysis.

The problems of any technical aid program will continue to arise out of the cultural misunderstandings. The attitudes, beliefs, customs and manners of the people will have to be taken into account. The lack of any great interest in the future, the sense of fatality, or "luck" or "destiny" will always run counter to the Anglo *modus operandi* and philosophy which does not mean that the Spanish American is wrong, only different, perhaps better. There are very few stomach ulcers among Spanish Americans!

It seems so easy, to the unitiated visitor in a foreign country, to prescribe for the local problems. It is soon discovered, for example, that they drink wine or perhaps beer with their meals and not water. This may bring puritanical reactions into play immediately, on the part of the Anglo, and there is an urge to change this habit. In the wake of this discovery comes the dismaying fact that the water is not fit to drink. The solution then is to furnish treated drinking water. This obvious need for technological advances is not limited to the problem just mentioned, but it brings into play factors common to all such problems.

To continue the problem mentioned, to furnish pure drinking water implies a system of piped water in most cases. But a modern water distribution system requires, besides capital, a modern maintenance organization, the availability of tools and replacement parts, power for pumps, and a socio-political structure to administer the system, collect bills and provide personnel. Hence, good health habits may require new mechanical devices, new technical knowledge, new attitudes (toward work, for example), and new systems of cooperation. And perhaps educating the public to the acceptance of water meters, for some attempts to install them have met with violent public opposition. Yet in some cases the light meter is in the parlor — for conspicuous consumption! As has been shown before, the individual who operates on the assumption that a superior idea or technique alone will attract customers, regardless of the cultural context into which it is introduced, will find himself the victim of many frustrating experiences. An example will illustrate reactions to technological advances.

An Andean city council was deliberating over the question whether to finance and install a municipal power plant. The problem had resolved itself into whether to obtain a 400 horsepower plant or one capable of producing 600 horsepower. There was one never-say-die holdout among the councilmen who was opposed to the whole "newfangled" idea. After months of deliberation and consultation with a United Nations electric power engineer, the holdout finally confessed that he just knew that they would be unable to supply the necessary pasture for all those horses!

This leads naturally into the problems of economics, not only on the national, state or municipal level, but on the personal. The inability to buy medicine is unquestionably the reason why many persons fail to avail themselves of medical treatment. The possibility of achieving a balanced diet likewise is restricted by inability to pay. And, of course, housing is affected by the same factor.

One of the frequently unanticipated problems is that arising from the situation in which men and women who live together are not legally married. Under these circumstances the man is less likely to recognize and honor obligations to his companion and their children, and is persuaded with greater difficulty to appear for treatment of venereal or other diseases. Illegitimacy is a problem of long, centuries-old standing and for this reason different degrees of this relationship are recognized, and it therefore has a bearing on the way many people sign their name. In some cases the last name or a final initial indicates legitimacy of birth. Education and illiteracy have already been mentioned, but their specific effect on the understanding of time has not. This is best indicated by an illustration. A mother is told to nurse her infant every three hours, and not to feed at night. Subsequently, she is asked when she was told to nurse and she replies, "every three hours, that is at 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10." Then she wonders why the child is not in good health since she carefully followed instructions. Inability to read greatly handicaps patients. All instructions, however complex, must be oral with the resulting possibilities of error. Propaganda must be devised that is not based on the written word if illiterates are to be reached effectively, just as traffic signs beside the roads must be graphic and not based on the ability to read.

It has been pointed out that the Anglo public insists on optimism in its advertising, in its psychological approach to teaching and in the possibilities for improvement whether individual, group or for society as a whole. The Latin temperament is more susceptible to sentiment, to the emotional, to what is painful and sad, and graphic illustrations of what ought not to be done are more effective. This negative psychology is used in all its graphically nauseating (to the Anglo) effectiveness in school books.

Religious beliefs sometimes go counter to programs and their goals, but a religious analysis is not essential. On the other hand, an understanding of goals and aspirations, of fundamental values and cultural premises consciously and unconsciously accepted is necessary in order to know how to work with the people. If there is no belief in the possibility of self-improvement and if there is a fatalistic attitude toward death, suffering, one's lot or destiny in life and so forth, these attitudes are crucial in knowing and working with, or making friends of, a people. The prestige complex as it is called, is most important to the Spanish American, as was pointed out in the chapter on Personality Heritage.

The printed word has much prestige among lower classes in Latin America. This fact can be capitalized on by any kind of technical assistance program. A case in point occurred in Peru. In one village where most of the people were illiterate penicillin quickly became known and in great demand. One of the town's few newspaper subscribers read articles about it, was impressed and realized its possibilities to increase his own prestige in the community. When talking with less well-informed friends who mentioned sickness in their families, he would grandly ask, "Haven't you tried penicillin?" His position in the village endowed the word "penicillin" with near magical virtues, and when it became available there was no probllem at all in persuading people to try it even though it was not included in the repertoire of the *Curandero*.

A demonstration of the misinterpretation of the printed word may also be useful. The present writer attended an important lecture by a Peruvian doctor in the binational culture center. In the course of his lecture on public health the Peruvian made the dogmatic statement that Anglos have the worst diet in the world. After the lecture, when questioned about the basis for his statement his reply was, "Look at the tremendous quantities of printed materials the Anglos publish on diet every year!"

The practical aspects of Spanish American beliefs and attitudes are still further isolated and dramatized by Cohen in *Social Structure and Personality* as he summarizes some studies of personality including one in Middle America. A distinction is made between the Indian cultures in Guatemala and the Ladino or Mestizo culture. This is a most pertinent differentiation in view of the fact that the Anglo holds up the artifacts of the pre-Colombian Indian civilizations as typical and representative of Spanish American culture and civilization. In the main, Latin American art is either Indian or European, not Spanish American and therefore is not truly representative of Spanish American culture.

Yet the Indian and his culture is having an influence on the Spanish American and, as Cohen points out, some are more acculturated by aboriginal cultures than others. The very act of making this statement, however, emphasizes the differences and the lack of continuity of culture between the races. Cohen proceeds to underline the individual personality as the higher value among the Spanish Americans and cites the family, the clique or the fashion, i.e., the social group, as existing only to promote the individual. This is in line with Chapter IV above. Furthermore, the Indian finds comfort in routine practice of traditional cultural patterns, but for the Spanish American such routine is most boring and leaves him dissatisfied. For this reason, changes in the center of power and in those who weild it together with support for sudden changes all add zest to life for him. It may be said that the mental culture would be incomplete without struggle and changes in government. This has been the pattern of his life from time immemorial.

Along with the foregoing there is a concept of nationality which differs considerably from the Anglo notion yet the Spanish American sees himself as part of the republic. He may take an active, even violent part, in overthrowing one leader in order to put another in power because he happens to like him at the moment, but this is all for the betterment of the nation in general and of himself specifically. At the same time they have not forgotten that they came from European ancestors, *ergo*, they are descendants of civilized men with a lengthy and gloriously noble past. For this reason they have an intense interest in history which may be the only social science in which they have some competence, unless law be included in this category. Thus, the Spanish American may be said to be aware of more than just his own country. This tends to orientate his drives toward extra-boundary aims and goals, to make him interested in the world. He seeks his satisfactions in the larger world centers and as a consequence he may know London, New York, San Francisco and Paris while remaining completely ignorant of the geography of his own country except for what he has read about it.

A corollary to the foregoing is that the Spanish American is interested in land, but only for what it will produce. He will work the land only when all other means of livelihood fail. He wants to control land for that is where his sustenance comes from and the more he can obtain the better. It is a status symbol and enables him to master the lives of tenants and employees, to exert influence in the town hall, as in the Middle Ages, and to enjoy prestige, even if the land is not profitable. If it is profitable, or he makes it so, the return gives him the means of gaining more power and thus to live up to his membership in the ruling caste.

As has been set forth previously, labor, for the Spanish American, whether in the fields or indoors, is to be performed only by other men or women, those under one's control. Labor is not only routine and monotonous but also intolerably boring, exhausting and degrading. Hence, he never carries a package nor does he ever walk if he can avoid it — and he knows how to ride. This goes along with the tendency to dominate, to order and is in keeping with rank and class.

Basic goals and attitudes may be seen in the customs and manners which include almost ceremonial politeness (by Anglo standards) and consideration for the other person's social position and ego, if he belongs to the same caste. Contacts with persons of lower rank, class, group or caste are restricted and complex, sometimes domineering and often filled with consideration. Because of the need to magnify the personality, i.e., separatism, factions are often formed within the same class resulting in feuds between families and cliques. The individual strives for prominence and in doing so may be assisted by his family. Gossip, character assassination, oaths and insults are common in spite of the primary school classes in morals and manners. It is quite common to express strong verbal protest against any action, conduct or ideas disapproved of by the individual.

In striving for prestige, prominence or power, competition or conflict are apt to be encountered along the road. hence appropriate and permissable techniques leading to success must be learned. If one enjoys high position and control over others, the privilege carries certain obligations to defer to those controlled so that they will not desert to the rival. This is called the caudillo pattern and it is well established even embedded in the language. The caudillo does not stay long in power as was demonstrated in a previous chapter. Yet politics is considered a legitimate means of furthering one's own interests so that it is not strange that many a dictator thought of the country he ruled as his hacienda, his fief or estate. If he did not profit from public office the public would question his motives.

The same patterns of matrimony, family life and attitudes to children that have been seen elsewhere in Spanish America are to be seen in Guatemala. Marriage is always a contract involving families as well as individuals with the customary tendency to be calculated with great weight being given to the social status of the couple. Here again, the husband is the final authority in the typical family. The woman's influence is exerted by round about and indirect means. She is not expected to share her husband's public life whether in politics, in business or elsewhere. If she were to attempt it she would be rejected in no uncertain terms. She can have a social life only insofar as it may be developed with families with which there are intimate ties.

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Chapter X

Customs And Practices

Primogeniture

There is an invisible and powerful force that works through Spanish American life, character and personality, and is hidden from view to the extent that they themselves are rarely aware of its existence. It is much like the Puritan influence on present-day Anglo morals — however lax it may be in comparision with earlier times, it nevertheless still exerts its influence. The force in question here is the so-called law of primogeniture. When asked about it Spaniards and Spanish Americans alike deny its existence and legally speaking this is true. Yet this "law" is most rigidly enforced by custom. It had such a powerful influence in Spain that, by way of reaction, it produced a proverb, *tan pobre como un segundón*, as poor as a second born son or, as it goes in English, as poor as a church mouse.

The first born son literally inherited everything the father possessed. As if this did not work hardship enough on all the other children, either law or custom or both added insult to injury by also investing the first born son with authority. This authority, however it may have arisen, is as absolute and dictatorial as that of the most tyrannical dictator, and is totally incomprehensible to the Anglo. In the Anglo tradition the father asserts authority over his children and exacts obedience. Each child in turn asserts the same authority in his family with the exception, theoretically at least, that daughters have less authority in their families than do the sons for the male is usually the one who wields it.

In Spanish America under the atavistic law of primogeniture, authority rests with the oldest male in the familly. As long as the father is living the authority lies with him. When he dies the next oldest male becomes the captain of the family ship even though he be only a teenager and in spite of the presence of his mother and perhaps several older sisters. Thus it is that no matter how many children, male or female, there may be in a family, the oldest male becomes the head upon the death of the father. The result is to produce a small group of first born members of society who are accustomed to wealth, to ruling and to being obeyed. Conversely, there is also a much larger group accustomed to taking orders, being ruled over and accepting a ruling power, class or caste. Through it all the women get short shrift and only occasionally play a role of any importance either in the family or in public.

It is the woman's lot to stay at home and oversee household and family responsibilities. The women supervise the maids who do the household chores and raise the children. The entire family, with the exception of the man, leads a secluded, sheltered, monotonously cloistered life. The mother may occasionally visit lady friends of the same class and equally as bored, or be visited by them. These occasions, attendance at church and the few other occasional entertainments available to them are their only opportunities to escape from convent-like home life.

With women in an inferior position, a small ruling class of first born and a very large class of men accustomed to receiving, accepting and unquestioningly obeying orders from above, it is little wonder that democracy fails, that dictators succeed and that the "big stick policy" may sometimes prevail to the amazement and embarrassment of the Anglo.

The inheritance of both wealth and authority by the oldest son down through the centuries has also had some effect on the development of personality. No other set of conditions could contribute more to self-confidence, to the magnification of personality and to the sense of separatism. Since both wealth and authority are inherited, life-giving sustenance is acquired without effort, therefore, it is beneath one to work. Since this same person possesses authority he is *ipso facto*, born to rule, therefore, he belongs to the caste which must rule and which must not work. All these privileges come without effort and without recognized origin and so are easily associated with faith, with divine origin and, therefore, everything comes from above. Hence, the attitude of expecting all from a divine origin or source is strongly reinforced. Moreover, since everything comes from above this attitude now doubles back on itself and makes the authority divine, too (divine right of kings?), and it is doubtful that any one is as harshly dictatorial as one possessed with the idea of his divine authority.

At this point it requires no stretch of the imagination to understand that the Spanish American father is always a dictator and often a tyrant at home. This has far reaching effects in many walks of life. One of the first of these, as mentioned above, is that since families are large with only one oldest son, the majority of the population is accustomed to the authority of the minority. In self defense, if for no other reason, they have specialized in personal relationships. They want to be on the good side of the one in power. The oldest son develops a regal bearing and conduct thus showing unconsciously that he expects obedience if not abeisance and the majority — accustomed to authority — submit to his rule. The effect reaches into government, politics and the business world and, of course, influences education.

Courtship, Marriage and Funerals

There are those who repeatedly claim that old traditions such as marriages arranged by parents, no dating, the cloistered life of women, etc., are rapidly breaking down. Traditions of such long standing, however, die hard and slowly. Their present-day status in Mexico and elsewhere will be set forth with the aid of national authorities in the field. In this section much credit is due to friends, colleagues and advisors as Ingeniero Francisco A. Mancillas, Dean of the Summer School for Anglo students; *Catedrático* (professor) Augusto Pozo Pino, Chief of the Department of Sociology; Mr. Salvador Villareal, Assistant to the Dean of the Summer School, all at El Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores in Monterrey, Nuevo León, México. Other credits are due also to Dr. Federico A. Coz of Lima, Peru; Sr. Agustín Jáquez of Santiago de los Caballeros, Dominican Republic; and Srta. M. Esther Valladares of El Salvador.

According to Dean Mancillas, "Mexico is the common doniminator of the Americas." Mexico may be so far advanced, however, that it ceases to be typical of Spanish America, but by virtue of this fact it also offers sufficient contrast to indicate the direction in which the Other American Republicas (OAR) are moving, and will thus serve as a springboard from which to launch the following study with appropriate excursions into other countries.

By proximity Mexico finds itself forcefully influenced by Anglo customs and culture. At the same time Anglo influences upon other American republics, with the exception of the great cosmopolitan centers, is felt in inverse proportion to the number of intervening republics through which it is filtered. This and other reasons stated above are the justification for using Mexico as an introduction to the differences in culture and customs between the two general complementary civilizations, when necessary.

As a starting point it may be noted that until recently the majority of marriages were arranged by the respective parents of the prospective bride and groom. The parents of the two principals meet and draw up a marriage contract on the basis of mutual advantage. They are of the same caste or class, they have political or economic fortunes, or both, that are complementary and everybody concerned stands to profit. Hence, the marriage is arranged and the two young people are joined willy nilly in the holy bonds of matrimony for eternity without further ado and perhaps without knowing each other very well. Since women are inferior the father of the bride must add something to balance the groom in the scales. It is customary to settle a dowry on the daughter, and the larger the more weight it carries and the nearer it comes to balancing the weight (intrinsic value) of the groom.

It could happen, and often did, that a young man's fancy would be taken by a certain young lady whom he wished to marry. In this case he would ask his father to go to the girl's parents and ask for her hand, provided of course that the girl meets with his father's approval. Here again, if the two sets of parents agreed they would make all arrangements. In neither case has there been any mention of dating, a custom which, generally speaking, is limited to Angloland.

A young man may serenade the object of his affections with song and guitar accompaniment or hire guitar-playing singers if necessary. In either case they stand in the street and play and sing. If the young lady is favorably disposed she will appear at her window which is on the second floor and has a small balcony enclosed by a wrought iron grill. She may act disinterested, nonchalant, or interested; she may wave a handerchief in token of recognition or gratitude. In rare cases she may set her suitor beside himself by serreptitiously dropping a note from the balcony or on the sidewalk as she enters church with her chaperone the next morning. Traditionally it requires much intrigue, bribing of maids, secretly arranged meetings with the chaperone considerately looking the other way, to carry a courtship to fulfillment. But the obstacles only lend enchantment and zest to the game. In reality, formal courtship may be said to begin when the boy, directly or indirectly through his parents or other suitable persons, asks the girl's parents for permission to call on her. If the parents are agreeable, he may visit her regularly in her home, e.g., Sunday afternoons, always with other members of the family present. When the boy's parents approve of his marriage plans, he may propose to the girl. If she agrees her parents will receive a formal proposal through the customary channels. In this case, two males, relatives or friends of the young man, at his request call upon the girl's parents formally and ask for her hand in marriage on his behalf. As a matter of formality, in most cases, the parents will ask for a week in which to "think it over," and the petition bearers may return at the end of that time for the answer.

When they return the answer is usuallly a foregone conclusion, the young man waits outside until his representatives emerge with the answer whereupon his *novia* (fiancée) invites him into the home. It may be permissable at this point to note an interesting sidelight. The Assistant Dean of Men at the Instituto Tecnológico, Don Juan Certucha, has been one of the two who carried the suitor's petition to the girl's parents fifty-five times yet remains a confirmed bachelor.

Courtships and engagements last about a year and a half to several years. The reasoning behind this is that the young man ordinarily wants to finish his university career first and in many cases he wants to have the household furnishings paid for. Sometimes he has also acquired the house or apartment. In some countries the man wants to be well established in his business or profession before he undertakes the responsbility of a family and this, quite obviously, requires several years. In these cases it is not unusual for a man in his forties to marry a girl in her twenties since he has previously had no permanent interest in girls or marriage. These conditions in addition to the fact that marriages do not always prove to be happy ones and that the Church does not allow divorce, result in the custom of the *tertulias* or social gatherings of men in cafés, hotels and clubs.

This system of courtship has been the subject of much Spanish drama of the *Capa y espada* type, especially during the Golden Age, and is also the bane of many Anglo high school teachers of Spanish. Students who become interested in the language and the culture of the people who speak it usually want to know how to ask for a date in Spanish. The teacher who is unfamiliar with the culture will turn to the dictionary and will come away dissatisfied with the equivalents found there. There is a feeling that something is not quite right but it is illusive. Appointment, a business engagement, the day of the month — these do not quite fit the situation known in Angloland as a "date." So the teacher, in desperation, chooses "appointment" and sends the students off on a wild goose chase.

The answer to the students' question, in view of the above information, is simply, "They don't." As indicated previously, the old customs of courtship, or lack thereof, and several others, are gradually breaking down under the influence of foreign travel, attending universities in Angloland, movies imported from the latter country, etc. The extent to which the breakdown is taking place depends upon country, class and whether urban or rural. The breakdown occurs mostly in the lower middle class and lower class, and in direct proportion to the extent to which the population is urban and cosmopolitan. The upper and upper-middle class are conservative as will be noted later.

When the marriage has been agreed upon by all parties concerned, the procedures vary widely from them on depending upon the social status and wealth of the families of the couple. The dowry has, to all intents and purposes, disappeared as such in Mexico. The bride's parents, however, may finance the wedding fees although it is possible that the groom will do so and they may amount to as much as 20,000 to 25,000 pesos ($1,600 to U.S. $2,000). This includes fees for publishing the bans which may appear in the newspaper once a month for three months, or more likely today, they will simply be posted on the church door. The purpose is to announce that the named persons are to be married. This announcement is circulated among all churches for obvious reasons.

The fees for the wedding ceremony are similar to those in Protestant churches — the groom pays the priest as much "as he thinks his bride is worth to him." This is not a fee but a gratituty in addition to the official charges. There are, of course, the expenses of singers, flowers, perhaps a special mass and all are costly. When church and state have been separated, it is required that there be also a civil ceremony prior to the church wedding. In this ceremony a civil judge performs the rites at the home of the bride for which there is a fixed charge of $80.00 pesos in Mexico (U.S. $6.40) and an additional gratuity.

In the church ceremony, the priest meets the couple at the front door and sprinkles holy water over them. He also has a small chest from which he takes the *arras* (thirteen coins) which he loans to the groom who in turn uses them as the token of his worldly goods with which he endows his bride. The couple march to the alter where the appropriate rites and readings are performed including the use of the *lazo matrimonial* which may be a white cord with interwoven gold threads or similar arrangement. In Guatemala the wedding chain of intricate design and made of silver is used, in others such as El Salvador, the chain may be made of flowers. During the marriage ceremony it is placed around the necks of the couple to signify their union. The girl's parents furnish the wedding ring of smooth silver or gold set with a diamond or other gem to be worn on the right hand. The engagement ring is of silver or white gold and is worn on the left hand. The man also wears a smooth wedding band on the right hand. Wedding cars and processions are not the object or victims of clowning and pranks as among Anglos.

After the usual mass there is the customary reception at the home of the bride, in the casino or at some fashionable hotel or other appropriate place, financed most generally by the bride's parents. Customarily the groom pays for the bride's wedding outfit and honeymoon apparel. In Mexico the ideal place for the honeymoon is Acapulco unless the couple decide to travel abroad.

A concomittant wedding custom is that of the *compadre* or *padrino* who are the witnesses and present gifts to the couple. The term *padrino* is also applied to the person or persons, usually a couple, who witness both the baptism of the children and their first communion at the age of twelve. In this case the *padrino* has the obligation of insuring that the children will have the proper up-bringing in the correct religious fashion and perhaps to make sure that they are otherwise properly cared for. Theoretically they should also raise the chilldren in case of the death of the parents, but this does not always hold true. More often the children are taken into the homes of other members of the family as the grandparents, aunts or uncles. Family life is very closely knit even to the fourth and fifth generations and several degrees of cousins. The nucleus of the family conserves its unity and identity by circumscribing itself within the limits of a separate household. Herein reside the husband, the wife and their children. If a grandparent should die the other may move in but not without risk of subsequent conflict, especially if the daughter-in-law happens to be an Anglo. Conduct within the family circle is prescribed and consists of rules of decorum and respect, courtesy and consideration. Unbecoming conduct is a menace to the integrity of the family and is not tolerated. The father is to be obeyed unquestioningly and the respect for females ranges along the spectrum of age with most respect going to the greatest age.

The male who is head of the household is literally a king in his castle. He is above criticism and is entitled to all respect because of his superior position and intelligence. Any one who enters the home, visitor, friend or relative, is expected to acknowledge the authority of the head of the household. No visitor will enter or be seated without a specific invitation and he will follow the conversational leads of the host while avoiding the expression of independent or contrary opinions.

The wife's main duty is to comfort and give pleasure to her husband. Obviously, she respects his authority, his superiority and places his desires and needs ahead of her own. Custom requires that she accept her husband's treatment, whether kind or brutal, without complaint. Furthermore, she may not resent his pastimes, which exclude her in the main, nor his extra marital affairs. Her in-laws may criticize her and he may beat her for what may seem to him to be excessive demands, e.g., that he spend more time at home.

Children are to be seen and heard, but decorously and respectfully. The mother is responsible for their well-being and for seeing that they learn what is expected of them. The father sees that they stay in line and metes out the punishment. The father may think of himself as a policeman who preserves the public image of his family as an integrated and honorable unity. He not only feels responsible for the behavior of individual family members at home and in society, but he is also dishonored by their misconduct. He therefore constantly judges and punishes those who do not maintain his standards.

Nevertheless, the relationship among parents and children is rather permissive, especially during early childhood. The authoritive rule of the father assumes its full force at adolescence when the child is supposed to attain the age of reason. The father now becomes less of a doting father and more of a dictator, the master of the household.

While the family unit glorifies the male and gives him power and authority, at the same time it keeps women in an inferior position, as many Anglo girls have learned to their dismay when they married a Spanish American and moved southward. It denies the sons and daughters the salutary experience of making their own decisions and of self-direction. It also tends to perpetuate an autocratic state rooted in this system rather than the liberal state springing from the democratic family.

The father's rule and authority in the family are established by custom so that no member can make a decision without his approval. In practice, however, he delegates the actual management of the family to his wife and keeps busy elsewhere, often at the club, the café or the hotel. The mother governs the daily life of the sons and daughters with a firm hand. A man may be fifty years old but if he is in his mother's presence and is not the first born, he is still her son and she bosses him much as she did when he was seven years old; and he obeys without question. Outside the family circle the men like to "live fully," as they express it, which means that they have their affairs and perhaps even keep a mistress (*barragania*), while respectable girls and even the young married women are expected not to go anywhere unaccompanied even in daytime.

From childhood on, after primary school at the latest, boys and girls grow up carefully separated and remain so until marriage. All schools, both public and private, separate the sexes. As a consequence, young people have no opportunity to know each other or to learn how to adjust to each other until after marriage. Even during courtship a young man is never allowed to be alone with his *novia*. A case in point is the Anglo sailor who made a movie date with a Peruvian girl at the USO in Lima. The girl herself told the story later. When the sailor called for the girl he found it necessary to call a second taxi. The entire family and some in-laws were going on the "date," too.

Matchmaking by families still is prevalent and early marriage is encouraged. The law, in some countries, permits boys of fourteen and girls of thirteen to marry with the consent of their parents, but these child marriages are no longer fashionable. A girl must be twenty-two and a boy twenty-one before they may marry without parental permission. During the past decade the age at which a young lady may enter into more or less formal relationships with a young man has been lowered to eighteen. When she becomes *comprometida* (engaged) her *novio* gives her a ring and she no longer accepts the attentions of any other young man. In fact, if any other young man paid court to her he would probably have to settle with her *novio* — it would be a matter of honor. When the engaged couple go out it is to the theater, to a fiesta in a friend's home or to a well sponsored dance. They will be accompanied by one of the girl's older brothers, the mother of one or the other, an aunt or a sister. Some members of the family must go along. If the young man visits in the girl's home members of the family will invariably be present.

As mentioned previously, the Church does not recognize divorce, nevertheless, it may be granted by civil courts. Nor does the Church excommunicate divorced persons; by the same token it does not allow them to participate in the sacraments — communion, etc. In Mexico a divorced person, to all intents and purposes, is socially ostracized. A man loses prestige, his business may suffer and he is generally *persona non grata.*

Sometimes the couple become impatient and marry before he is in a position to provide a home. In this case, after marriage, they may take up residence under the roof of the groom's father. Yet marriage is often the excuse to get away from the old homestead. When the newly married couple move into his father's house, they may find four or five other sons and their wives already living there. The boys' mother rules this menage and the wives are completely under her thumb — which is even more galling to an Anglo wife than the proverbial Anglo mother-in-law. The closeness of the family tie makes a Spanish American household sufficient unto itself and rarely allows time for contacts with outsiders. A contributory factor, of course, is the traditional attitude that the place of the woman is in the home.

Husband and wife share the responsibility for teaching the children how to conduct themselves acceptably in any social situation. An educated person is one who has been well trained as a social being. Hence, education is often referred to as *cultura,* culture. Informal education within the family is given precedence over formal schooling. Hence, there is somewhat less concern for educational systems among Spanish Americans than among Anglos.

The educated person is polished and courteous in his social relationships. He avoids offending others and is adept at defending himself. He knows all the rules of etiquette and the technique for politely maintaining social distance outside the home. He knows how to get and demands respect. Maintaining proper relationships involves ritual and patterns of respect incomprehensible to the Anglo. They are quite formal and often dramatic and ceremonial.

Envy is considered a destructive emotion and is one of the major barriers to material advancement. They cannot stand to see another rise above them. Envy is aroused by success in almost any kind of activity, whether it be promotion, increased business, purchase of a new home, drapes, an automobile or simply the enlargement of a place of business, the purchase of a new suit or a new pair of shoes. Sudden progress or improvement of an equal is the most unbearable. Immediately, he must be pulled down. In other words, while the Anglos try to keep up with the Joneses, the Spanish Americans try to keep the Martínezes down to their level. This refusal to allow others to rise above circumstances, to improve themselves, to allow for progress, has been witnessed time and again. One of the many examples may be seen in the case of the assistant to the minister of education. He badly needed an operation on his eyes. After making all arrangements at the Mayo Clinic and for air transportation, he suddenly decided not to go. The obvious question elicited the response that he dared not go for he would not have his position when he returned. This simply meant that others would have taken over his job had he left and he felt free enough to say so.

These fascinating people still hold to the tradition that wealth is meaningless unless accompanied by an honorable family tree and the refinements of a cultured life. Family is valued above wealth, and older families sometimes live in "genteel poverty." Influence, irrespective of money, rests on family and the ability to live up to the role inherited. The upper class think of social rank in terms of caste rather than class or nationality. They look down upon the others as peasants, tradesmen and servants.

With the increase in construction of apartment houses many of the younger generation are seeking the obvious advantage of establishing themselves independently, and so another of the old family traditions is slowly beginning to break down.

The conditions expressed above need to be summarized for further discussion. These are the semi-obstacles confronting a young couple who would marry, i.e., the difficulty of enjoying private conversations except such as may be held at parties, dances, the movies, the theater, perhaps at bull fights, etc.; the consequent probabilities of mismatches; the ostracism of divorced persons; the high cost of fees, both ecclesiastical and civil; the inability of the lower classes to "afford to get married"; and the characteristic *machismo* all combine to produce two situations, if not more, that are highly censored by the Puritannical Anglo, namely *la casa chica,* illegitimacy, and the so-called café society. These will be discussed at the appropriate time in the following pages.

Although many Spanish American women are attending the universities, even the schools of architecture, engineering and medicine, they still have many battles to win before they acquire the rights and privileges due their sex. The ancient belief that the woman's place is in the home is still prevalent in all but the most industrialized or cosmopolitan centers. As a consequence, married women are generally confined to a monotonous home life with little diversion, and what makes matters worse is that if a newly married couple lives with the groom's family, as frequently happens, the bride finds herself under the strict, dictatorial and perhaps tyrannical rule of her mother-in-law. If to this there be added a gradual alienation of affection between husband and wife, the latter finds herself gradually left and more alone at home and more continuously under the supervision of the mother-in-law and other members of the family.

At the same time, while gradually increasing his time away from home the husband increases the amount of time he spends in *tertulias* with masculine friends of his class and profession. Besides the usual topics of conversation, much legitimate business is transacted over a cup of coffee or a cocktail of interminable duration.

The Spanish American rather belligerently considers himself a man of honor and resents being hurried. He is most sensitive, especially about his dignity, and he is quite obviously cultured. There is one point at which he is strikingly different from the Anglo: the Chinese efficiency with which he keeps his emotions and his thinking separated. His head always is in control of his heart. This is all for the best since he is convinced that his masculine dignity requires him to be a constant seducer of women as is so vividly portrayed in the Spanish romantic drama by Jose Zorrilla titled *Don Juan Tenorio.* This requirement leads to the writing or extemporaneous composition of amorous poetry or simply a "line" which many an Anglo girl has "fallen for" while the man was either already married or engaged; to say the least he had no intention to marry despite his rather early and ready proposal. His female national counterpart is naturally familiar with the custom, realizes that his only interest is sex and, aware of her sophistication, he uses a different "line." In this case the male may be one of the many from mismatched couples seeking relief from the boredom of both home and café society as well as being on the prowl. This particular contact may be only momentary or may lead to a permanent establishment under the circumstances described earlier. In the latter case the girl lives in an apartment, perhaps even in a small house, the expenses of which may be financed out of her own wages or mutually shared, and sometimes entirely financed by the man if he is financially able to do so. This custom is recognized socially, no questions are asked and no stigma is attached — an outgrowth of the rigid religious standards and the custom of primogeniture. Any children born of this arrangement may or may not be adopted by the father. If adopted they share in his prestige, are accepted by his legitimate wife, especially if their children are all girls, and may benefit from an inheritance. If not adopted they are illegitimate and left to their own devices. This arrangement of a married man with an unmarried woman is what is called the *casa chica* or may be referred to as *baragania.*

In spite of all the foregoing, the man's honor requires that he protect the women of his own family from being the objects of similar attentions from other men who are impelled by the same psychology, so he keeps them carefully guarded in a family circle that is almost as tightly closed as a Moorish harem.

In view of the foregoing and the necessity to magnify the personality, it is not surprising to learn that illegitimacy is statistically significant. In fact, it has been pointed out that law often recognizes degrees of illegitimacy. The current trend to move off the farm and into the city may well increase the rate even more. It is unlikely, however, that the cause is attributable solely to the so-called *machismo* that is popularly blamed for this and the fact that many Spaniards and Spanish Americans have mistresses. There is first of all the necessity of magnifying the personality and what more beautiful way than through the medium of an "affair?" Secondly, women have not shared the freedom to engage in occupations and to earn a living independently in the business world. This places many girls at the mercy of the generosity of a male who would take pity on them. The rationalization, then, is that a good deed is being done by "keeping these girls in home and groceries."

The upper lower-class girls are occasionally acquiring sufficient training to qualify for positions as typists and other semi-skilled work. This opens up a whole new and fascinating world full of many heretofore undreamed of temptations and new needs. These girls, dazzled by the temptations of a glittering new kind of life, and without any very strong moral upbringing, often succumb to the offers of middle and upper class males who flatter them with their attentions. These are also the people who are seen by the tourist and are taken to be "the people of the country." This accounts for some of the seemingly contradictory stories brought back by visitors claiming to know how the people live. The worthwhile, truly representative people of the Spanish American countries are not so easily to be found or to be known. They are busy with important affairs that keep them out of sight of the foreign visitor.

There are regions of Latin America where more than half the births are illegitimate, in one it was 66%, and for the entire nation of Argentina, at one time, it was 28% which at the same time compared with 2% of the white population in Angloland, 3.7% in Canada, 5.7% in Japan, 7% in France, 4.4% in Great Britain and 6% in Norway as reported to the League of Nations. This is another of the problems of Spanish America that undoubtedly could be solved, or at least ameliorated, by increasing the population in rural sections and raising the standard of living. Increasing the number of people on the land, making it possible to own it and giving them the few tools needed to cultivate it would tend to create a family society with higher standards of living and health instead of the hundreds of frustrated men who leave the women and children behind as they wander unhappily from place to place seeking a way to make a living or augment the slum populations in the large cities. Another factor contributing to illegitimacy may be seen in the following anecdote.

A chauffeur was known to be living with a woman who had born him several children without benefit of clergy. When asked why he had not married the woman his answer was somewhat lengthy. In the first place, the routine marriage would cost more in fees for the civil authorities and the church than he could earn in a month. In the second place, his case was not routine because his "wife" was not from the same town. This meant that he would have to pay all the fees over again in her town. This doubled the expense of the marriage and he was earning U.S. $36.00 per month — an excellent salary for a chauffeur in his country at that time.

In light of the above statistics concerning births it is not difficult to understand another characteristic of the Spanish American personality. This is the clear-cut tendency to be somewhat sensitive about certain family relationships, and it is specially noticeable in the oftimes elaborate and respectful terms used when referring to someone's mother. This must be managed delicately for the greatest possible offense to any man is that of making slighting remarks about his mother. Even the slightest levity takes on the nature of an insult out of all proportions, and the same is true concerning the grandmother. Consequently, the strongest curse word in the Spanish language that can be applied to a man is to call him an *hideputa* or son of a whore. The expression (SOB) made famous, or infamous, by ex-President Harry Truman cannot hold a candle to this expression. The next strongest debasement is to say "I am your father," as was pointed out in the chapter on the personality heritage.

The force of this traditional attitude may also be accounted for in part by a Biblical Commandment. It is not one of the Ten Commandments but is found in Mark VII:10 where it reads as follows: "For Moses said, honor thy father and thy mother; and whoso curseth father or mother, let him die the death."

Yet so paradoxical is this thing called human nature that the Spaniards made good use of their own weakness. The Romantic dramatists were not in the least backward in making use of the illegitimate birth or unknown origin of a hero to produce the climax or simply to lend an air of mystery as in *Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino* by El Duque de Rivas. This is one of the outstanding Romantic dramas of nineteenth century Spanish literature. Then there is the half-brother relationship revealed at the end of a play to make a marriage impossible or to solve a tangled plot.

The problem of illegitimacy in Spanish America is of such serious proportions that many writers are constrained to despair of solving the many economic and related legal problems. The high illegitimate birth rate is not surprising in view of man's biological constitution, the customs of Spanish America beginning with the conquest, the high cost of matrimony and the large number of Indians and lower class people who have no access to either civil or ecclesiastical authorities — except on infrequent occasions when mass marriage takes place among rural couples who may already have half a dozen children or more. Added to these factors is the migration of rural folk to the cities in search of a better life. The problem is particularly serious when *compadres* and *padrinos* come to town and ask to be taken in until they can find work for there is no refusing them. This situation may last indefinitely while other relatives also arrive from the country and the city dweller cannot refuse to take them in. In the end he may be supporting any number of families thus eliminating all possibility of improving his own lot.

Since ecclesiastical legislation plays such an important role in family life, it may be pertinent to close this section with a few remarks on funeral rites. An important factor is that there is no custom of embalming except in the cities. This naturally makes it necessary to bury the dead as soon as decency and the completion of the necessary arrangements will allow. Otherwise, customary procedures do not vary greatly. In many countries only males participate in funerals and there is a *velorio or* wake during the first night after death when relatives and friends bring food and take turns keeping watch over the body. This sometimes takes place in the home and at others in the mortuary. As each new arrival enters there is a new outburst of loud weeping and wailing lasting several minutes. In some cases the wake is manned by paid professional mourners and it is often held in the mortuary for obviously there must be large salons or parlors available to accomodate all the attendants.

The next day a Mass is held for the deceased at the church. The procession to the cemetary may be on foot with four men carrying the casket and all marching slowly, or with the casket in a horse-drawn carriage. In Mexico and even in some other countries many such processions now make use of the automobile. After the casket has been lowered into the grave the funeral director thanks all those present for their attendance. In the meantime a black wreath has been placed on the door of the home of the deceased man, a white one for a woman in Mexico. There is also the customary obituary notice in the newspaper. The funeral is followed by the *novenario*, a custom which requires the prayer of the Rosary each day during nine days in church on behalf of the deceased. After the ninth day and the corresponding *misa cantada* (Singing Mass) there may be a dinner at the home of the bereaved during which prints of saints are distributed in memory of the deceased. The dinner is often accompanied by appropriate violin music.

As so often happens in this worldly life in every country and civilization, there are funeral rackets. In Spanish America friends and relatives call the florist and order a *corona* or a wreath to be sent to the funeral parlor. This, in some countries, may consist only of white flowers, pine and cypress. Very often the florist takes advantage of the knowledge that few if any will examine the wreaths and sends one worth much less than was ordered.

As in many other countries, especially among Anglos (as evidenced by the movie "The Loved One") there are different rates and styles of funerals as well as varying charges for a variety of Masses or services.

Deceased children are usually dressed in white and not taken to the church as they have not yet had an opportunity to sin and, therefore, have no need for the church rites. The funeral of a child is often the occasion of considerable gaiety rather than a solemn and sad affair because the child will never know sin.

Not long after the funeral the bereaved family sends a black-edged card of thanks bearing a printed prayer to all concerned, or perhaps simply puts a card of thanks in the local newspaper. Mourning used to last as long as two years after which pastel colored clothing might be worn. The tendency now is to shorten the period to one year or perhaps less. The mourning style for children is white.

Daily Life and Entertainment

Perhaps a more interesting topic is the daily life of the Spanish American which in many ways is similar to that of the Anglo, especially in the industrial areas. In other ways, however, the Anglo could profit greatly both mentally and physically, not to mention the probably greater emotional stability, from some of the Latin customs.

Generally speaking, daily life in Mexico begins around eight o'clock in the morning when the family arises. The father has a breakfast consisting, perhaps, of coffee eggs, a glass of milk, and bread and butter which, among the professional class at least, is sometimes prepared by the wife who in this case makes it a point to be the first one to get up. After a leisurely breakfast and a perusal of the morning paper the professional man goes to work around ten o'clock. Those who are engaged in industry and in the minor occupations may start the day earlier, the upper class perhaps at the same time as the professional, or even later.

Professional working hours are from eight or ten in the morning until about two in the afternoon. Many businesses close for two or three hours at noon and this is part of what frustrates the Anglo who expects to do business during his lunch hour or at least by one o'clock. This is one of the points where geography plays a prominent role. The heat between noon and three or four o'clock in tropical regions, is such that one who persists in working during these hours soon finds his health on the decline. The customs and practices of a people ordinarily have a long line of experience and wisdom behind them and suit the particular way and place of living; hence, it is far more profitable to observe them than to ridicule them. The rebel who flaunts such customs may eventually be the victim of the Anglo saying that "he who laughs last laughs best."

Many Spanish Americans begin the day with a very light breakfast consisting possibly of nothing but bread, French style, and coffee or *café con leche*. In this case they will have an *almuerzo* or second breakfast at 9:30 or 10:00 followed by the *comida* or what the Anglo calls lunch, sometime between 12:30 and 2:00 P.M. The *comida*, in some regions, is the heaviest meal of the day.

Bedtime for the professional and industrial class in Mexico is 10:00 to 11:00 P.M. yet there is much entertainment of a social nature at night. There are family parties or fiestas in addition to the entertainment already mentioned including the *tertulias* and, of course, the night clubs. The Sunday afternoon bull fight or *corrida de toros* is of interest primarily to the lower classes and the tourist and is becoming less popular simply because the mestizo is finding himself and his place in life after centuries of internal conflict over his questionable origin and destiny, as set forth in the chapter on personality. The *Plaza de Toros* where bull fights are held in Monterrey will accommodate no more than 15,000 spectators in a city of over one million inhabitants. The arenas in some other countries will accommodate larger crowds.

Because of its proximity, Mexico is the first to try out, and frequently adopt, Anglo methods, customs, styles, techniques and theories. This in turn has its affect upon family life. One of the results is that, contrary to tradition, the wife of the industrialist or the professional who can afford servants leaves the care of the home and even of the children in the hands of maids. While the women of the lower classes have their hands full with housekeeping chores and raising the children, the society woman is engaged in social work of many types. A popular type is social welfare work in the poorer *barrios* or *colonias* as the different districts, zones, additions or developments of the city are called. They collaborate with the government in such work and bring pressure to bear upon it for further improvements. Their influence is such that even a government of communist tendencies will cater to their demands. This interest in social problems is something new to the personality that was developed in Spain. The change has come about undoubtedly because of the new currents of thought developng in the late XXth century through the efforts of sociologists aided and abetted by the new found freedom of the upper class women.

Movies are quite popular among the younger generation, especially between six and eight in the evening. "Nice girls" may attend the shows at these hours without chaperones but they must go in groups of three or four. In the theater in many cities there are heavily grilled boxes to permit people who are in mourning to enjoy the opera without being seen. Access to the mourning boxes is from a dark street on the other side of the theater from the gaily lighted entrance. The strictness of mourning etiquette is another of the old traditions that is breaking down and well it might for one funeral after another more often than not keeps families in the rigid mourning straight jacket endlessly. Custom has required a daughter or a widow to wear black for two years, or at least one, under-clothing and all.

It may well be emphasized that dress in general is always decorous and discreet. No woman or girl would be seen in public anywhere in slacks or shorts, rather they are always in pretty feminine dresses. In Monterrey, Mexico, law prohibits the wearing of slacks or shorts on the streets. Bathing suits may be worn on the beach but nowhere else. The slightest infraction of this custom is met with raised eyebrows, to say the least, and if exaggerated it instantly classifies the wearer in no flattering category. Ordinarily, it precipitates conduct on the part of some males that is quite embarrassing.

Social dancing is also popular and almost everyone of the several republics has its own typical dance. In this category there is the Argentine tango, the Ecuadorean *don juanito* and the *imbabura*, the Chilean *cueca*, the *rumba* in Cuba, the *son chapín* in Guatemala, the *járabe tapatío* in Mexico, the *bambuco* in Colombia and the *pericón* in Uruguay to list only a few. The theater and the opera are popular with everybody, but not every country can have its legitimate stage or opera and must await the advent of traveling troupes. Some countries, as Argentina, Mexico, Peru and others produce their own movies, many of which are exported, and their own theatrical companies which travel the Latin American circuit. Television receivers are becoming popular as broadcast stations are made available. Along with radios and refrigerators they are the most desired appliances in Mexico.

One of the outstanding Latin American social affairs is the annual fair in Argentina. Every year in August the Argentine government and the cream of Argentine society turn out in toto and in their best attire to pay homage to a bull. As told by White in *Argentina*, the opening day of the livestock show of the Argentine Rural Society in Palermo Park vies with the Independence Day gala performance at the opera as the important official and social event of the year. It is much like an Anglo annual state fair. The president of the republic attends in state, accompanied by the entire cabinet and escorted by the magnificient San Martín mounted Granadiers. A formal dress "must" for the diplomatic corps, the occasion provides the same lucrative source for furriers, dress designers and milliners that Easter Sunday does in Angloland. Mr. Bull, who is the hero of this elaborate spectacle, is the much beribboned grand champion shorthorn of the year, and it is he who receives, with blinking bovine unconcern, Argentina's cheering tribute to all the Ferdinands of the Pampas, of whom he has just been crowned king.

Among the early arrivals are the United States ambassador and his wife. They might stay away from the gala performance at the Colón theater and not be missed, but the meat question between the United States and Argentina being what it is they would not dare be absent from this homage to the father of Argentina's beef industry. The opening of the annual livestock exposition is truly a great show, and would be in any country. The President sits among his cabinet ministers surrounded by the silk hats of the diplomatic corps with flags flying and military bands playing. Beautiful debutantes, whose names will appear at the top of the society column next day as "among those present," gasp their excited oh's and ah's as the grand champion shorthorn and all the lesser prize bulls of the season are led solemnly back and forth in front of the admiring thousands, in what the newspapers and the official records call the Grand Parade. It is perfectly fitting that Argentina's nouveau riche aristocracy should thus pay its respects each year to the love life of the Pampa bulls, because most of the great fortunes of the country have been piled up by these bulls and their lady friends while their owners live in Paris and try, usually in vain, to spend the money as fast as the bulls produce it.

No king's mistress ever was more pampered than these pedigreed bulls in Argentina. Two or three peons spend all their time looking after the comfort and love affairs of each bull — a far different type of bull from the personification of masculine fury that fights for its life in the bull ring. These big, fat, lazy Argentine fellows are gigolo bulls. They are carefully escorted to their barns every afternoon and fed warm mash while their coats are washed, combed, brushed, and curled if you please, and their hoofs manicured. Never weaned, each bull finishes his day by nursing two young cows.

The *corrida de toros* or bull fight is also a popular attraction in those countries which can afford it. These include Argentina, Mexico, Colombia, Peru and some of the other countries occasionally have their bull fights. Each *Plaza de Toros*, or bull fight arena, is organized as a profit-making corporation by necessity. There is considerable capital involved in the maintenance of the arena, in the acquisition of the bulls, the printing and selling of tickets, arranging with the best and most renowned bull fighter talent that may be procured with the resources available to the corporation, etc. The raising of the bulls suitable for a thrilling contest before the crowds of spectators is an industry in its own right. The arena corporation must obtain the best possible bulls for the exhibition. If the bull is not sufficiently ferocious and will not fight, the bull fighter is insulted, especially if he has a reputation. Furthermore, the public will soon look elsewhere for its entertainment. On one such occasion a bull fighter of renown — Silverio Pérez — walked out of the arena in anger and left the country. As he left the spectators vented their fury by crowding the arena and waving their jackets and coats in the "cow's" face.

Many Anglo critics to the contrary notwithstanding, in the eyes of fans the bull fight is no bloodier than a Thanksgiving Day football game where players are sometimes injured for life and occasionally lose their life. There is equally as much art, skill and psychology, if not more, involved in the bull fight. Proof of this may be seen in the most interesting novel by Tom Lea titled *The Brave Bulls*. It includes diagrams of most of the *pases* or movements with the cape. The author acquired his information first hand by himself becoming a bull fighter.

Football, a version of British Rugby, is also popular as are all the competitive sports — they provide a suitable outlet for the intense personality of the Spanish American. Matched games, however, have a way of ending in a near riot. The Spanish American is not a good loser although many like to think of themselves as "Sports," albeit the term has a different meaning to them, perhaps closer to the English expression "play boy." But this connotes a status that the individual must live up to at all times just as he does his class and caste. Umpires and referees are often ignored or abused and nearly always are "wrong." Spectators take sides at once and are equally avid for "their team" to win, so much so, in fact, that it is not uncommon for games to be interrupted and even disrupted by the spectators. It has not been long since a *béisbol* game in Mexico ended in a riot and stampede that killed a number of women and children and injured many others.

Baseball has been taken over bat, ball and English terminology with the latter having an unrecognizable pronunciation for the native English-speaking person. It is a popular Sunday afternoon pastime.

Many countries participate in the Olympic games for which Mexico was selected to be the host in 1968. Mexico has also earned an international reputation in tennis along with two or three other countries. Among the individual sports, swimming is quite popular. Other games that are gaining in popularity are Rugby, Soccer and *Jai Alai.* The sports, however, and many of the other types of entertainment are limited to masculine participation. The girls are limited to private parties, the theater, movies, dances and the opera. One rather prevalent custom should be described at this point.

On Sunday afternoons and, in fact, almost any afternoon, just before time for the movies to start, the young people begin strolling around one of the principal parks. The novelty involved here is that the girls go arm in arm in one direction while the boys go in the opposite direction. This is an opportunity for a young man to have the nearest thing to a date. In Costa Rica, if a girl attracts his attention he will perform the act known as *dar cuerda* (literally, to wind up), which is a sort of giving her "the eye." The next time around he will about face and fall in step beside her, stroll around the park a few times and then they separate again. This may happen again after the movie is over if it is still daylight. This custom is known as the *retreta,* sometimes called the *serenata* or the promenade.

In countries like Mexico that are more "modern" the girls and boys also have the opportunity during Sunday afternoons and after school to go to the restrauants and cafés for refreshments. This is a wonderful opportunity for indulgence in conversation, to get acquainted and to warm up relationships.

In a more general vein it may be pointed out that there are numerous religious holidays which furnish much entertainment and diversion as well as interrupting duties and schools. It has already been indicated that one city in Mexico has a church for each day in the year. There is also at least one saint for each day which goes in hand with the custom of naming children for the saint on whose day they are born. From this, presumably, has come down the custom of celebrating, not one's birthday but his saint's day. It is this custom that made it possible to make an educated guess as to the day and month when Miguel Cervantes was born.

The religious holidays, quite naturally, include Christmas and Easter. It will be recalled that the Spanish American is deeply religious. An outgrowth of this is the quiet satisfaction that he enjoys on these holidays and fiestas — they are genuine entertainment for they furnish an opportunity to savor the emotions appropriate to the occasion. Unlike the Anglo, the Spanish American is not a thrill seeker. He does enjoy emotions and will wring the last bit of enjoyment in a pleasurably soulful way from any and all emotional situations.

Thanksgiving is unknown since it originated with the Pilgrims in New England. It is becoming known and understood in many countries, but it is doubtful that the occasion will ever be celebrated south of the Río Grande.

Christmas has its own formalities and these are somewhat different from those in vogue among the Anglos. It is celebrated for what it actually represents, quietly and with appropriate rites and ceremonies both in the church and out. One of the routine customs is known as the *Posadas.* This is an integral part of the season and is carried out as much in the Southwest of the United States as in Latin America. It is a procession which goes from house to house, as Joseph and Mary went about Jerusalem, seeking lodgings for the night. Originally, the homes that were to participate in this event indicated this fact by lighting small fires in front of the house. In some parts of the American Southwest, notably New Mexico, this developed into what is now known as the custom of the *luminarias.* A number ten paper sack is filled with sand about three inches deep which will support a candle in an upright position. Dozens and even hundreds of these sacks complete with candle are placed on top of the outside walls of the adobe-looking pueblo style houses and on the thick adobe walls surrounding the homes. For a week or two before and after Christmas the candles are lighted every evening. The rows of these lighted *luminarias* on the homes around Albuquerque and many other towns throughout New Mexico and parts of surrounding states are a fascinating and warming sight. Obviously, such a custom could not survive in a damp or rainy climate.

The religious aspects involve first of all a midnight Mass called *la misa del gallo.* It is at this time or a little later that some remote Spanish American communities stage a religious play called *los pastores.* It has become difficult to find a village where this custom persists for it, too, is dying out. It is well worth a side trip at any cost to see this drama.

After the Mass which, in some countries, may be punctuated by firecrackers, everybody goes home to open Christmas gifts, if they have the custom of doing so at this time, and then have a midnight supper consisting of typical dishes. The supper eventually makes way for dancing until the small hours of the morning then everyone sleeps until nearly noon on Christmas Day.

Preparations for New Year begin at once for it is celebrated with gala dances which begin around ten o'clock on New Year's Eve and last all night. Each family makes a special effort to have a reunion at twelve midnight sharp when church bells are rung, locomotive whistles blow and everybody hugs everybody else. This is followed by playing games some of which are superstituous predictions of what the New Year will bring for the individual. Everybody wears new clothes during this hilarious celebration for the bringing in of the New Year.

With the advent of the New Year come preparations immediately for the celebration of the *día de los reyes magos*. In addition to the giving of gifts, those who can, also celebrate the sixth of January in some countries by riding horseback to a *finca* or *hacienda* (ranch) to spend the day in festivities thus commemorating the arrival of the Three Wise Men. The termination of these festivities marks also the end of the Christmas celebration. Where Anglo Christmas trees have long since been discarded the Spanish American Nativity scene, which was set up before Christmas, is finally put away on the seventh of January. Business returns to normal, schools begin the academic year in tropical regions and daily routines hold sway again.

There is a special children's game for gift-giving in Mexico. It consists of suspending a container full of candies and perhaps small gifts from a pulley attached to the ceiling. The container is customarily decorated in such a manner as to make it represent some large fowl or an animal such as a donkey, with the container inside. Children take turns being blindfolded and trying to strike the *piñata*, as it is called, with a long pole or stick while another raises and lowers it by means of the rope and pulley. Eventually a child bursts the *piñata* and all scramble to gather up the gifts.

Easter is probably celebrated more devoutly and over a longer period of time in Spanish America. It begins on *domingo de ramos* (Palm Sunday) and lasts through Easter Sunday or *domingo de resurección*. During this week no one works and everybody is busy with religious activities including processions, visits to the church, the *Santo Entierro* (Holy Burial) and the observance of other ceremonies. Church bells are not rung from Good Thursday until *Sábado de Gloria* and after the *Gloria* has been sung. It is customary in some countries to wear new clothes from Wednesday until Easter Sunday. The following week may be spent at the beach, at a lake or some other resort place. Here again there is a hiatus of two weeks or more in all business and official affairs and all schools are closed.

Considerable attention is given to the days immediately before Lent. This period is called *carnavales* and is often the occasion for much merry-making, feasting and even clowning. It comes to a climax very much as in New Orleans with its Mardi Gras, on the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday, but without the expensive floats. The pranks indulged in are such as squirting ether in anybody's eyes, pouring ashes, flour and buckets of water out of second-story windows on unsuspecting passersby, and many others.

Memorial Day is an important event in which everybody participates to such an extent as to give the impression that there is more concern for the dead than for the living.

There is a special day in Mexico and Central America known in the former country as *el día de nuestra señora de guadalupe* and in Central America as *el día del indio*. This is the day on which *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* appeared to the Mexican shepherd and left her likeness impressed on his cape. The shepherd was an Indian, hence the name of the celebration. Other holidays and feasts are too numerous to be listed here and many of them are of lesser importance. Suffice it to add that the independence day of each country is also the occasion for a celebration on a larger scale than is customary in the United States. There are parades, plays at the theater and other activities re-enacting historical events and the recitation of much poetry. It is the occasion for a demonstration of patriotism and an expression of appreciation of the principles which the flag stands for and which the fighting men died for. There is much playing of patriotic music including the national anthem, the latter, however, is to be played only on such occasions and at official programs, with dignity and decorum. It may not be played at baseball games nor as entertainment — it is too sacred. Likewise, the flag may be used only for official functions and at state affairs, occasionally during funerals it may be draped over the casket.

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Part IV
Intellectual and Economic Life

Chapter XI

Education And Intellectualism

Organization of Education

Education in Anglo America is a chaotic anomaly in comparison with any other country in the world. At the top, in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, there is a United States Office of Education. In this office is to be found the United States Commissioner of Education who has no authority over any administrative education unit in the nation. Below him are fifty states, each with its education system and a state superintendent of public instruction. Each state in turn has county, municipal and district school systems and private schools. Each, with its board of education, is a law unto itself. And there is no national standard or controlling agency. Little wonder that the visitor from another country is confused by the seeming lack of organization. Furthermore, nowhere else in the world is "an education," at least on the high school and college levels, divided into infinitesimal units of a mathematical nature called units of credit or semester hours. From this fallacious major premise there is a logical jump to the conclusion that "an education" consists of a given number of these isolated, discontinuous or discreet units. It is as if automobile or airplane fuel were made up of gallons and not gasoline. To cap the climax, Anglo Americans place much greater emphasis on getting together, for "an education," all at the same time, in the same place and sitting in rows of chairs (by requiring attendance), than on the importance of learning, which ranks behind that of grades and semester hours, football and other competitive sports. There is much ado about training and education, specialization, research and investigation and much confusion about it all, especially the first two.

The Spanish American system of education is more logical with the highest officer, called the minister, who holds a national office and is a member of the president's cabinet. The minister is the supreme authority in all educational matters throughout the nation. His office is the ministry in which there are many other subordinate officials some of whom hold equal rank immediately below the minister. These include such officials as the chief of elementary education, the chief of secondary education, and other chiefs of such offices as statistics, normal school education, vocational, technical and agricultural education, and perhaps others. The ministries of education in the several republics do not all have exactly the same number and title of offices.

These depend upon the current policy at the time of constituting the government and later reorganizations.

Under each chief there are minor offices called sections while everywhere there are typists and occasionally one, who more often than not is a man, who can take dictation and is called a secretary. Clerks, accountants and errand or office boys are ubiquitous. There are also a number of supervisors for the academic disciplines, more often one for all subject matter areas, who visits schools in the capital city and perhaps some of the nearby towns. To go out into the backwoods or "sticks" is unthinkable. The Spanish American seldom travels within his own country though he may occasionally travel to Europe. The reports turned in by supervisors often must be written on legal or stamped paper (shades of the Stamp Act!). The stamped paper sells by the sheet and at varying prices depending upon the nature or the value of the transaction. In the case of a business transaction the amount of money involved determines the value of the stamps which must be affixed.

Below the ministry of education there are delegates, representatives or other officials who are the supreme authority in the departments, provinces or states of the nation. They are about on a level with the state superintendent in the United States. They may visit schools, evaluate teachers, demonstrate teaching methods in the schools under their jurisdiction, and recommend the efficiency rating to be recorded on the *escalafón* (teacher's record) in the Civil Service department of the ministry. They request the teachers needed to fill vacancies, suggest where new schools need to be established and forward requests for textbooks, teaching materials, school furniture and other equipment where these are available. Much of this information may come from the director who, in his school, is the equivalent of the Anglo principal.

The director is the highest official in his particular school, whether rural or municipal. and is responsible to the minister in the capital city through the delegate. It is his duty to make certain that the offically prescribed course of study or curriculum, *planes y programas*, is followed to the letter of the word. The practice is slowly changing, but in the past the course of study was drawn up by the officials in the ministry of education which is still the general practice. This curriculum was then published and all schools, teachers, directors and delegates were required to follow it slavishly, if for no other reason, because the final examinations would be based on it. The importance attributed to the printed word often leads to ludicrous and sometimes ironical situations. An anecdote will demonstrate this.

Upon arrival in one country, questions were asked about the type of education system in effect. The replies were uniformly enthusiastic about the "wonderful system" then in vogue. To substantiate the claims a copy of the printed organic law was taken down from the shelf and presented with great ceremony. This was read carefully and found to be as described. It was truly the acme of education systems. It was then asked where this system might be conveniently seen in operation. "Oh, it's not in operation," was the reply, "but we have it all drawn up and published." This, as it turned out, was sufficient. When the ideas had been developed, thoroughly discussed, carefully worded and set down on paper and finally published, the job was complete. Nothing more need be done.

The director of each school and his family hold forth in whatever building is made available, to serve as a school house, by the ministry. More often than not the buildings are old residences in a state of bad repair, sometimes condemned as unsafe, but the owner milks the national government for the rent charging more than the building is worth when in good repair. Needless to say, such buildings are not pedagogically planned. About all that can be said for them is that many of them are better than none.

The other American Republics have always been interested in improving educational facilities and spasmodically undertake building programs and literacy campaigns. Literacy varies between 20% and 90% of the total population depending upon when and where the estimate was made. The spells of feverish school construction have appeared more frequently since World War II. Many countries, if not all of them, boast of numbers of new school houses, some constructed of reinforced concrete, some of adobe brick, stone or frame construction. Usually they are built on fairly satisfactory pedagogical principles although acoustics leave much to be desired. They are also well adapted to the climate of the region whether tropical, as in Central America, temperate as in Argentina and Chile, or cold as in the high parts of the Andean countries. But it is impossible to catch up with the demand. They were behind in the beginning and a sustained effort has not been possible or was interrupted by civil or boundary wars, depressions and World Wars. Building programs became more and more delayed and to such an extent as to become discouraging even to more wealthy countries. Recently, however, there have been redoubled efforts which, in many countries, have been aided by a United Nations specialized agency (UNESCO) or the United States foreign aid programs. The combined efforts, however, will be hard put to it to hold their own because of the population explosion.

Up to this point the general academic elementary and secondary schools have been under consideration. The private and parochial — mostly catholic — schools are also under the jurisdiction of the national ministry. Sometimes the lines of authority run directly from the ministry to the private schools, sometimes through other official schools. In one country, for example, there are only three public secondary schools and each has jurisdiction over all private schools within its region. In general, the national school system is organized into separate, non-coeducational secondary and primary units. The primary schools include the first six grades, sometimes divided into two cycles of three grades each. The secondary school includes five or six years with the first two often forming the first cycle and the others the second.

There are no colleges in Spanish America and many English speaking persons are misled by the Spanish word *colegio*, thinking that it means college. A *colegio* is either a secondary (high) school or a combination elementary and secondary school. High schools are also often called *liceos*, after the French word *lycée*, and *institutos*. The junior college system is likewise unknown, but preparatory and normal schools or teacher training programs are often added on top of the regular high school curricula. More often, normal schools are separate institutions, under the direction of the chief of the normal school section in the ministry of education. Each normal school has its own faculty and director.

In Central America many elementary or primary schools raise a garden and thereby accomplish two purposes. They contribute much to a school lunch program while at the same time they offer opportunities to teach basic elements of agriculture to the children of farmers who are still using medieval methods. But it is rare when the national department or ministry of agriculture will cooperate with an elementary school in its garden project or with the teacher training program in the normal schools.

The other units in the school system may be commercial schools, technical, trade and vocational schools, but these too are not coeducational. They are all under the ministry of education, even if private, and its respective chief or department. The curricula are not what would be called imaginative in their aims for they hew to the traditional line turning out fairly acceptable tradesmen, mechanics and service workers. As is to be expected, in each republic there are a few good schools which turn out good craftsmen, mechanics and master workmen. These are proud of their trade and their work and are not satisfied with anything but the best they can turn out. Time is no object and they will spend endless hours on handwork, inlaid work and finish work to turn out an attractive product. Even the poorest workman puts some effort into giving an artistic touch to his work.

Education is free and compulsory up to the age specified by the law in each country. Compulsory education laws, however, are nullified since no country is able to supply educational facilities to all who would take advantage of them. Neither school buildings nor teachers are available in sufficient quantities. Furthermore, teaching materials must be supplied by the ministry which seldom has the necessary funds. The children in many schools have neither pencil nor paper for school work; neither chalk nor erasers, not even chalkboards. What is still worse, fewer than half of the children of school age may attend school, not only because of the reasons given above, but for others also. If they are not sick, suffering from malnutrition, undernourishment, intestinal diseases, tuberculosis, etc., they lack clothing or they must work when opportunity offers, to help keep body and soul together in the entire large family. As a consequence, education is of the aristocratic type, especially on the secondary and university levels: those who can afford it get an education. In the final analysis, the fees charged for all examinations, for validation of courses, for certificates and diplomas, make "free education" rather expensive.

The attendance figures are important, not only for their meaning to the cost of education, but because they have a direct bearing on certain important aspects of life in Spanish America. Fortunate is the country in which 25% of the children of school age are in school. Furthermore, according to UNESCO, of every 1,000 Latin Americans who enter school, 866 drop out before the sixth grade. One half drop out after the first year. Some 6% enter high school and about 50% of these drop out before graduation. Only six of every one thousand enter a university and five do not graduate. This leaves one out of every one thousand who completes a college education. This one, quite naturally, is of the upper class — the only one who can afford an aristocratic education.

For the reasons just set forth, the esteem in which a *bachillerato* (high school diploma) is held is about the same as it was in Anglo America at the turn of the century and even down into the 1920's. Any one who has a high school diploma is educated because so few have attained this comparatively high level (according to Spanish American standards) of education. Therefore, anyone who has this "degree" is qualified and entitled to hold any position he desires. Everybody is a specialist and answers the ads for this type of personnel. Moreover, every applicant has a large number of letters of recommendation and notarized certificates attesting to his capability. Specialization in the sense defined by a civilization that places its faith in precision built, standardized, interchangeable parts and a high degree of efficiency in a limited area of work is simply incomprehensible. Consequently, there is no understanding of promotion or employment on the basis of merit. They are gained on the basis of friendship and personal influence or by undermining the encumbent.

Certificates are issued on any and every occasion which again testifies to the importance attributed to the printed word. It must be remembered that illiteracy ranges between 20% and 90%. Few in proportion to the total population can read, therefore, writing, especially print, has magic powers. The result is that, being diluted among so many, the value of certificates has been reduced to an insignificant quantity.

The governments of the other American Republics are all conscientiously and deeply concerned about the problem of literacy. Figures for Latin America in general have already been cited. Recent figures in Guatemala present a discouraging picture. According to a report in the Mexican newspaper *El Porvenir*, dated 10 August 1966, 75% of the population of Guatemala is illiterate. But this country has a high percentage of Indian population in the mountainous areas, and the optimistic factor is that extra-ordinary efforts are being made to wipe it out. All the Spanish American governments sense the relationship between education and the standard of living, between the latter and political stability, and between education and government in a democracy. Consequently, there are frequent literacy campaigns of varying duration, most of them short-lived. The finances and the personnel required are seldom available in sufficient quantity to carry the campaign through to successful completion. A variety of plans of attack have been attempted. Sometimes elementary school teachers are recruited to give at least one class a night each week for adults who want to learn to read. At other times personnel are employed especially for the purpose, and the qualifications required are mostly graduation from the sixth grade or from secondary school. One of the more popular plans is the Laubach "Each one teach one" system installed by its inventor in many countries around the world as well as in most of the Latin American republics. The system is easily initiated by elementary school teachers who man a course, usually at night, during a specified number of weeks. Upon completion of the course each "graduate" is given a certificate testifying to his attendance or to his ability to read. Each of these in turn must now teach one other person and these latest "graduates" must take their turn and fulfill their responsibility by doing the same. This process continues, in theory, until the entire population can read. Unfortunately, the system's waves of "teachers" become progressively less enthusiastic with the increase in the distance from the original trained teacher. Thus, the program wanes and finally dies, the population remains illiterate and eventually a new program will be started.

Since large armed forces are maintained, mostly for prestige purposes, there is available a substantial supply of manpower in the form of soldiers who, most of the time, have little or nothing with which to occupy themselves. In some countries the soldiers who are literate, have been put to work teaching illiterate comrades, and the population in general, to read. These programs also die out for the same reasons, i.e., lack of motivation, inability to maintain sustained effort and inefficiency of teaching methods.

Regardless of plans and methodology, even the successful campaigns come face to face, in the end, with a stark reality. Those who learn to read soon lose the ability for lack of materials on which to practice their newly found ability. The least expensive newspaper is not available, even on a weekly basis, to three quarters or more of the total population. This automatically excludes more expensive magazines, books and other types of reading materials. Hence, illiteracy remains rampant to the extent that many traffic signs are graphic pictures depicting the dangers ahead rather than worded warnings.

Implicit throughout the foregoing discussion has been the principle that all authority for education, its standards and norms are to be found in the central ministry of education. It is the minister who must determine policy, academic standards, prepare examinations, accredit schools, establish the equivalency between accredited and non-accredited courses of study and all other matters touching on education. As noted above, this contrasts markedly with the seeming lack of standards and guidance in Anglo American schools. The Spanish American is born, bred and educated to the idea of an ultimate single source of all authority. It is not easy to understand, for these people, how a democracy allows standards to be set by the people.

A cooperative society which conspires and seeks at all times to outwit the law and the system cannot comprehend a competitive society in which parents gladly tax themselves to finance an educational system and then set the standards of quality by refusing to send their children to schools which do not turn out well trained citizens and producers. Here again, the Spanish American finds his own purposes and best interest defeated by what he himself calls his evil Spanish heritage.

Curriculum

The curriculum in the schools of Spanish America is an *a priori* product and offers a greater variety of subjects than is now customary in United States schools. Pupils in the primay grades must recite on as many as a dozen or more subjects each week. Not all are required daily, but there is as much variety as was the practice in the schools of the United States in the 1920's. Furthermore, the grade placement of much subject matter is frequently quite different. Geometry may be found in the second or third grade, algebra soon follows and close upon its heels comes notions of higher mathematics, sometimes going as far as the calculus. Reading is taught in the first grade, as might be expected, and history of a broad scope and depth is included in the primary school. The biology course lacks little of being the equivalent of the United States high school course, without the laboratory, but with thick notebooks filled with hand-drawn illustrations as well as a complete set of notes.

Where the materials are available, elementary and high school notebooks are works of art. The pupils in the upper grades take notes in class which are taken home at night and re-written in a neat, stylized handwriting that makes an attractive looking page. As noted above, many pages will also be illustrated or decorated with colorful pen and ink drawings to illustrate the notes, particularly in biology and mathematics, and any other course that lends itself to illustration. Writing or penmanship is taught and every one who has gone to school prides himself on his handwriting. In fact, if a Spanish American is asked to write his name he will ask whether to write it (so that it will be legible) or to sign his signature which he draws with flourishes that completely disguise it and probably make forgery impossible. The signature is characteristic of the individual. The notebooks must be kept up to date and turned in to the teacher at the end of the school year.

Since the lack of textbooks is the rule rather than the exception, the teacher dictates the infomation which the pupils are to learn, they in turn take notes which are the basis of the final examinations and any others that may be given during the year. From this it is easy to understand why to teach a class is, in Spanish, *dictar una clase*, dictate a class. The method of learning this information is also interesting.

The information dictated by the teacher must be memorized since only the exact wording given by the teacher, or as found in the textbook, will be accepted as the correct answer. The method of memorization is to repeat out loud so that a study period consists of choral repetition in the elementary school, by the pupils, of the material to be learned. It is very likely that one who walks by a school during the afternoon will hear the droning voices of the pupils memorizing their lessons.

Long before the final examination period, pupils will begin cramming to make certain that they know all the information that is expected of them. The final examination is not made up and administered by the teacher. In many cases it is made up in the ministry of education in the capital city. The questions are based on the materials prescribed by the course of study and are administered by a board of examiners appointed by the ministry. A pupil must pass in all subjects for if he fails in one he must repeat the entire year's work. Sometimes a student who fails his final examinations may take them again at the beginning of the next school year.

Unlike the Anglo American custom, the school year in Spanish America more nearly parallels the calendar year and has a duration of ten months. It may begin in February, March or April and end in October, November or December. Some countries have two school calendars, especially the Andean republics where geography embraces such wide extremes of climate. The practice is to have one calendar in the lowlands, i.e., the tropical or jungle regions and another in the high mountainous regions. This is due in part to the fact that most of Spanish America is tropical, near or south of the equator, and in part to great variations in altitude. One may be on or near the equator and still be cold because of the great altitude. The effect of geography is to reverse the seasons with a corresponding reversal in the school calendar. It also creates an anomaly for Anglo Americans in that Christmas falls during the summer. In this connection it may be noted that in tropical regions, such as Central America, there is no perceptible change of season other than the onset of the rains (winter), and the change to the short dry "summer."

Many elementary school pupils are frequently absent because of illness, lack of food or because of occasional and seasonal employment opportunities. In some regions there is the custom of letting out school for a month or more for the harvest. This is particularly true in Central America where the school year opens in February and the coffee harvest comes a little later. The coffee harvest is the only agricultural interruption in the school year inasmuch as children cannot pick bananas. It may be added that at coffee picking time both stores and offices as well as schools are closed so that clerks, office workers and school children may all pick coffee.

The *planes y programas* or curriculum for the secondary school offers almost as wide a variety of subject matter as the primary school program. Not all classes meet every day, however, thus making it necessary to compute the teaching or study load on an hours-per-week basis. Some classes, such as foreign language, usually English and French, penmanship, mathematics and others may meet two to five hours per week, the number varying from year to year. For example, English may meet five times per week the first year, three the second and two the third, and four each during the fourth and fifth years.

The secondary school curriculum is of the classical type in both form and content and often includes Greek and Latin. It is loaded heavily on the academic side and there is little or no application. There is no general science in the Anglo sense of the term, and physics and chemistry are taught from the textbook. Laboratory work on the part of the students is practically unheard of. If a school is so fortunate as to have laboratory equipment, and a few do, it is kept under lock and key. It is for use only by the instructor for an occasional demonstration. An anecdote in this connection may be illuminating.

The city of Cajamarca, in the Peruvian Andes, may be recalled for its historical connection with the Inca, Atahualpa. Pizarro forced him to ransom his life by filling the room, in which he was imprisoned, with gold and silver. The tragic end of this story will not be recounted here. In this same town there is an ancient monastery with the typical Gothic arches, extremely thick walls, low ceilings, dark and damp dungeons for rooms. This medieval maze of dungeons has been taken over by the ministry and converted into a *colegio* (secondary school). In this moss covered, ancient stucture there has also been established one of the most modern, well equipped physics laboratories. It was indeed a pleasure to find this school where, obviously, practical application would be made almost daily of the theories learned in the physics class. Such was not to be the case. It was the same old story: the director had the keys, the equipment was used only occasionally by the instructor and no student ever had an opportunity to look at it, much less use it. Always, there was the question, why is the equipment kept under lock and key? This question, based on economics, will be answered in a later chapter.

Study methods in the *colegio* do not vary greatly from those in the primary school. The principal differences involve the quantity to be learned, the source of the information and the location where learning takes place. It has been seen that education in Latin America is mainly of the aristocratic type for it is available only to those who can afford it. This limitation becomes rapidly more pronounced on the successively higher levels of the system. Secondary school and university students dress well at all times, they supply their own textbooks (in English, French and Spanish) and writing materials, and must pay frequent and costly fees. Above all they must be able to afford the leisure required for the purpose of attending school. The need to be gainfully employed in addition to the scarcity of secondary schools, and the low standard of living for most, keep all but a few of the most fortunate in this age bracket out of school.

Since these students have textbooks, assignments are made in accordance with the course of study made by the ministry of education. It requires that the entire textbook be "covered" which in turn often results in long assignments. These, it will be recalled, must be learned by memory. For the purpose of learning their lessons, many students go to the city parks during the afternoons where they stroll slowly around, textbook in hand open to the pages of the assignment. As they walk they repeat aloud the words and sentences to be found on the assigned pages of the book. Only male students may go to the parks to learn their lessons. The girls must do theirs at home. Secondary schools are not coeducational and girls are not to be seen on the streets alone, much less with the boys.

Final examinations in the *colegios* differ more markedly from those in the primary school. The examinations may, on occasion, be prepared and sent out by the ministry. At other times, an examining board of three teachers is appointed by the ministry and they hold the final examinations at the appointed time and at the school which the student has been attending. At this point it may be noted that there is a reversal of terminology between English and Spanish. Where the Anglo teacher "gives" an examination and the students "take" it, in Spanish, the teacher *toma*, (takes) and the students *dan*, (give) the examination. The examining board may either ask oral questions or supply written questions the answers to which are graded by all three members, or they may turn the proceedings into a game of chance. In this case the equipment consists of a bingo basket with a supply of numbered marbles — one for each question in the examination. The victim, student or candidate is called up to the front bench. The basket is given a whirl, a marble rolls out and its number is read aloud by a member of the board. The number indicates the question which the student is to answer. If he answers in a manner which, in the opinion of the board, is thorough, complete and satisfactory, he passes not only that particular subject but the entire year's work as well. Should he fail the question, the entire year's work is lost and must be repeated except, as noted above, he may try again at the beginning of the following school year. The correct answer, of course, usually proves to be the one that most nearly repeats the words of the textbook. This is most convenient for all concerned since the examiner knows exactly and easily which questions to ask and the student knows, or at least can know, the correct answer. In this system there is an abundance of homework and much information is acquired. The application of this information is another matter as will be seen later.

The secondary school in Spanish America is also bereft of extra-curricular activities. There is nothing to distract the students and take them away from their studies. Nor are faculty members required to sponsor student activities or organizations. In fact, there are very few regular, full time faculty members. With rare exceptions, each faculty member teaches in a number of different schools in an effort to have a full schedule of classes and, therefore, full time employment which will insure a minimum standard of living. This requires that he contract with as many schools as possible to teach as many hours in each as can be obtained without conflicts. Teaching is paid for by the hour per week, and teachers usually commute many times a day to many schools to meet their schedules.

The lack of full time faculty members combined with the absence of student activities at school leaves a complete void as far as campus life and school spirit are concerned. The result is that the students take a lively interest in the identity or qualifications and classroom conduct of their teachers. If one incurs their dislike they will often demand his dismissal and replacement — with success. For example, an English teacher attempted to apply some new methods and techniques which he had learned in a summer methods course. The students took exception to them because the prescribed course of study was not being followed, i.e., not outwardly. In spite of the fact that they would learn more English, which was their purpose, through the new methods, they would not accept any departure from the course of study which they knew would be the basis of the final examination. The students demanded that the teacher be removed and replaced, and the director acceded. This was not as serious as it may seem at first blush, however, inasmuch as the teacher lost only three hours per week of teaching, or five at most, and not a regular full time position. Nevertheless, it represented a significant financial loss.

In line with the aristocratic nature of education, the high school curriculum, as mentioned above, is purely academic and preparatory to university entrance. There is no vocational training in the *colegio*, no home economics, no manual training, no woodworking, no carpentry; there is no vocational agriculture, no shop work of any kind. Since there are no extracurricular activities there is no band or orchestra although some theory of music is taught and there may be some classroom singing, but none for public entertainment or display. By the same token there are no student clubs.

Vocational education is assigned to special schools called technical, commercial and secretarial schools. There are also military schools. The technical schools give training in all the traditional trades such as shoemaking, carpentry, cabinet-making, plumbing, electricity, automechanics, welding, founding, drafting and some design, radio and television repair, repair of appliances, etc. It will be noted that some of these are not so traditional.

The commercial schools teach the usual courses in accounting, bookkeeping, business mathematics, typewriting, shorthand, business letter writing, etc. These schools graduate more students trained in typewriting than in shorthand or accounting. The students who attend these schools are those who do not aspire to a university education because they do not belong to the proper caste or class. If they did, they would attend the academic high school and look forward to a profession or a career in medicine, law, the clergy, in government or in writing, sometimes in the army. These are the traditional careers open to the upper class Spanish American. Military training often furnishes occasion for some social mobility.

It may be of interest to note at this point that the first programs for the training of nurses nearly failed. Those girls who were qualified to begin the training, in the Anglo Foreign Aid viewpoint, were those who automatically belonged to a certain class or caste. Any one in the class would not deign to stoop to such menial labor. They were far above the handling of bedpans, carrying trays of food, making beds, etc.

For the same reasons there are few vocational agricultural schools. Training in this field goes beyond the time and finances available to those who would become proficient. In other words, agriculture is not a trade to be acquired in a year or eighteen months of training. It is a career or profession and, therefore, open only to those of the upper caste. As before, one who has acquired training in agriculture does not stoop to menial labor. This is graphically exemplified by the professor in an agricultural school who took his class into the field for some "practical work." The professor was dressed in suit, white shirt, four-in-hand tie, derby hat, patent leather shoes, spats, cane and white gloves. He pointed with the cane to show each student where to work and told them what to do. He did not demonstrate. There are no land-grant colleges and no Smith-Hughes funds in Spanish America.

Schools of agriculture are on a level with engineering and architecture schools. This kind of education is costly, in terms of the standard of living, and is open to the few who can afford it and who are attracted to a farming or cattle-raising career.

Teacher Training

Teacher training is one of the important functions of the ministry. It may be carried on in the same plant and be an extension of a secondary school, or it may take place in its own building and, as in the case of the *colegios*, have an imposing name. Many schools on all levels are named after Abraham Lincoln and George Washington, Simón Bolívar and others of their own national heroes.

Admission to the normal school requires at least three years of secondary school and sometimes five, depending on the country. The number of years of normal school training will vary accordingly. It is not the purpose here to describe the normal school curriculum any more than it was in the case of the elementary or secondary schools. These are available in numerous publications, especially those of the United States Office of Education and the respective ministries. The purpose here is to show the organization and the handicaps under which it labors.

The students in the normal schools have come up through the elementary and high schools taking their notes and memorizing their lessons. They continue to do so in both content and methodological studies in the normal school. Upon graduation they are assigned to their respective positions in the elementary schools of the nation. Here, they in turn dictate the information they had previously acquired in the same manner during their schooling. Each time the information is dictated new errors creep in. Thus, errors are not only repeated, but each student adds a few new ones to his set of notes. These errors would tend to be eliminated if research or simple reference work were assigned during the teacher training period. Unfortunately, the normal schools have very few, if any, library facilities thus rendering impossible anything in the nature of research or reference work. In most schools it is likewise impossible to verify simple information so that errors are compounded. This paucity of the customary tools of education is a most tragic misfortune. It results in much theorizing and very little verification. There has been some investigation in the field of psychology in connection with theories, hypotheses or problems only remotely, if at all, related to real needs in education, sociology or industry. It will have a bearing, however, on a later problem.

Mention has already been made of the school garden and its contribution to the elementary school lunch program typical of some countries. There are countries also in which the normal school program includes courses and practical application of elementary principles of agriculture. These are usually rural normal schools which are also boarding schools. The agricultural practices thus tend to make up deficiencies of or supplement the diet. Farm machinery, however, is not available and either medieval methods (wooden plows and ox teams) are employed, or perhaps there is improvement in the form of a steel moldboard plow which often requires two teams of oxen for motive power. The obstacles to an education are at times almost insurmountable.

Innovations are taking place with increasing speed and changes that appear to be for the better are being effected. An example from one country is to be found in the Central University at Quito, Ecuador. Here the University has a faculty or College of the Sciences of Education whose purpose is to train teachers. This seems to be a step in the right direction inasmuch as it puts teacher training on the university level rather than on a par with secondary education. This same university will be mentioned again later for another break with tradition.

Higher Education

The university system in Spanish America had its beginnings some years before any institutions were founded in Anglo America. The National University of Mexico and the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos in Lima, Peru, were founded by 1553. Before this, however, a university had been founded in Santo Domingo, the capital city of what is now the Dominican Republic, in 1538. The oldest institution of higher education in the United States is Harvard College, founded in 1636. The institutions established on both continents of the New World were modeled after those of Europe, especially Spain and England. If there was any similarity among the imitated models, however, it soon disappeared from among the imitators.

The universities in Spanish America not only imitated the models in Spain, but seriously set about the business of perpetuating the traditions and customs of those models. There is an innate characteristic among Spanish-speaking people to preserve traditions and customs at all cost. They live more in the past than in the future and place more stock in past glories than in present ideas or future gain. There may be some connection with the fact that the future tense of the Spanish language is so weak that it is used to express conjecture or probability in the present. As a consequence of the interest in tradition, Spanish American universities are not greatly different today from the form in which they were founded. They still teach and prepare their students for the traditional professions of letters, law, medicine and the clergy, and are not concerned to any great extent with the practical arts or the sciences. The course of study is prescribed *a priori,* there are no electives and laboratory work is only now becoming popular. Education is aristocratic, not democratic.

Fortunately for the economy, only certain classes of people may hope to attain a university education. It would be economically impossible to finance democratic or mass education. Hence, a university education is the most aristocratic of all with possibly five percent of the total population able to attain it.

A student who satisfactorily completes four years of university studies receives the doctorate in humanities. The licentiate in law may require another year or two and the doctorate in medicine may require up to eight years. The graduate of the medical school, however, never calls himself "doctor." This title may be applied to any one as a title of respect whether he has earned it or not. The medical school graduate will announce on his shingle for all the world to see that he is a *médico- cirujano*, a medical-surgeon. A dentist is likely to call himself a dental-surgeon or perhaps an odontologist which is quite correct but somewhat pedantic to the Anglo ear. Any one who treats the eyes, of course, is called an ophthalmologist. These terms show the fondness for multisyllabled words which is characteristic of the Spanish language, a fact that many specialists in the teaching of reading in the primary school forget when they work in Latin America.

There is no graduate study, as it is known in Anglo America, and no equivalent of the Master of Arts degree or the doctorate. It will be recalled that a *bachillerato*, baccaulaureate degree, is awarded upon completion of secondary school. Hence, university education can lead nowhere except to the doctorate unless there should be a complete reorganization of the education system which is hardly to be expected.

The university is organized by faculties which correspond to the Anglo administrative units called colleges, schools or divisions. There is, accordingly a *facultad* or faculty of humanities, more often called letters and philosophy; the faculty of law; the faculty of medicine; and, more recently, the faculty of economics. Engineering and agriculture, it will be recalled, are separate schools as are the teacher training institutions or normal schools. There are variations or recent innovations in the traditional organization. The Central University in Quito, Ecuador, has a Faculty of the Sciences of Education, and a university or two in Mexico have combined an engineering school with other faculties. Another innovation in Quito is the annual hour credit. In other Spanish American universities students must register each year for a full program of studies. This leaves no time for part time employment, which makes it virtually impossible for a student to work his way through school. The annual hour credit makes it possible for students to register for a partial program of studies and engage in part time employment. When he collects enough annual hour credits he may graduate.

The Spanish American university traditionally has not known the institution called the Campus, nor campus life. There is no one central group of buildings referred to as the university. Exceptions are now appearing in some countries, such as Colombia, El Salvador, Mexico, etc. The Campus is often the referrant when an Anglo American thinks or speaks of the university just as he uses the expression "going to church" to mean attending a service. To the Spanish-speaking person, " going to the church" is making a trip to the building. Furthermore, the university is not a place, but rather a group of individuals who represent certain disciplines, bodies or areas of information and who are united by the common effort and goal of imparting this information. An education consists of the possession of this information and to get an education is to go through the process of obtaining and mastering the information.

The Spanish verb "*Educar*" is more often than not mistranslated into English as "to educate." Nothing could be more misleading. The English verb is seemingly limited to the process and activities carried on by organized school systems or institutions of higher education. True, information is imparted, but so are sources of still other information including instruction in how to use it. The Spanish verb *educar* goes beyond this and includes instruction in manners, morals and culture. In fact, primary schools usually include in the curriculum a class or classes in *modales* (manners). This is true to such an extent that some ministries of education are called the ministry of culture or perhaps even "popular culture." "Popular" in this sense, of course, means "of the people." They seem to have a tendency to include much of what we would call breeding and perhaps some of the social graces. This all takes place in the primary and secondary school system. These matters have already been taken care of by the time a student reaches the university, either because he belongs to the chosen class or because he has come through the lower levels of education, or because of both.

The personnel who impart information or an education on the university level do not constitute a unified faculty as is customarily envisioned in Anglo America. University teachers traditionally are those who practice their profession and are willing to give from one to five hours a week to lecturing on subjects related to their profession. They are eager to do this for the prestige that comes from being associated with the university. Some are paid and some do it free of charge. But each one has no further connection with the university. Classes are held any where in the city that a building or a room may be found. Attendance at lectures is not required. The student may buy a set of notes taken and mimeographed by a previous student or teacher, or attend class and take his own notes. The only requirement is that he pass the examination at the end of the course.

The universities of Western Europe, of which there were some 80 in the XVth century, were autonomous societies of free association established for the purpose of protecting, spreading, ordering and transmitting the knowledge of the times and to undertake the study of the social professions which were the priesthood, law and medicine. They were an example of associations of teachers and students. In Paris the government of the university was in the hands of the teachers, the model that was followed later by the universities of Northern Europe and still later by the Anglo American universities. In Bologna the government was in the hands of the students and was the model that influenced southern universities.

In Salamanca (Spain), the mother of the first Spanish American universities, the two types were harmonized into one thus constituting a brotherhood and a government of teachers and students; thus the "regents" were appointed by the general assembly of doctors, professors, lecturers and students. In the University of Bologna the limited duration of a professor's appointment, the right to teach freely and the right of students to choose their teachers served to prevent antagonism between teachers and students. Since the students participated in the governing of the university and the dispositions, rules and regulations enjoyed their support, an harmonious order was maintained between teachers and students. Later when, for several reasons including the anarchy of the students, the state took an excessive hand in the government of the universities, along with the teachers, they became beaurocratic institutions which prepared only professionals who had no sense of a social mission.

As in Salamanca, the students at the University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru, participated in filling vacancies in professorships, a practice which was incorporated into the organic law of education in 1946. The manner in which this principle functions was recently demonstrated in Mexico. On 14 July 1966, the governing body of the National Autonomous University of Mexico appointed a new Director for the Law School. The students immediately rejected him, held a general assembly and agreed to suspend classes, hold another meeting the next day and not attend classes again until Monday, still without accepting the new Director. The candidate who had been appointed was imminently qualified but the students would have none of him.

In his study of the Latin American University titled *La reforma universitaria* . . . Mazo describes its development. As a result of the French Revolution and the educational ideas that came out of it, Spanish American universities began to be controlled by laws and decrees as agents of public law, organs of the provincial or national government.

The methods of instruction were the same as those in politics — the imposition from on high of a system of preconceived ideas and forms that were of no use to the country. In higher education a disorganized professionalism prospered. It was a broken up university with faculty dispersed and exclusively utilitarian, without humanities. This was the situation in 1918.

Since that date the university Reform Movement of the students of all the countries of Latin America is reconstructing the bases for the organization of the universities from Argentina to Mexico. The new bases were deduced from a thorough examination of the needs that were felt directly. First comes the readaptation of several aspects of the ancient traditional organization of universities of twelfth century Europe. (It will be remembered that the *Siete Partidas* was the first organizing statute.) Second, the simultaneous coincidence and modification of certain forms of French Revolutionary Universities; and third, the new passionately popular and social movement which was never felt in other universities but which definitely characterizes South American universities.

Its personality stands out when the present universities from Mexico to Argentina are properly located in the history of such institutions and more so in light of their contemporary crisis, which may be stated in the following points:

1. The authorities are elected by the university community and it maintains its autonomy (including the fact that no civil or military authority is allowed on its grounds).

2. The aim is to make of the student an active and creative element participating generally in the university community within the national community.

3. The South American university inclines toward cultural integration in spite of the very strong tradition of professionalism which was typical of these universities after the Revolution for Independence and influenced by the French model.

4. The South American universities also tend to integrate themselves nationally. It is a matter of a way of faith and authenticity, the true base, not abstract, of a culture that succeeds in being effectively national. The university should not be a straight jacket on the national culture but a stairway which the people may ascend. For this reason and in contrast with that of Europe or the United States, the South American university has a distinctive function which will incorporate the cultural, professional and scientific, namely the social; that of putting knowledge into service for the community. This social meaning or sense is vehemently manifested in the typical concern of Latin American students who cannot consider themselves as such without sharing the restlessness of the citizenry and without taking as their province the great continental and world problems.

5. The South American university takes on the character of a home for continental fraternity, so much so in fact, that all up and down the continent they have officially constituted themselves a Latin American Union of Universities with a view of the defense and cultivation of the great defining principles of the University Reform.

At the same time, the university must produce men of the nation, of the people, not men separated from the country, from its way of life, a man of the times and the community. Otherwise, the consequences are to continue being a culture cast off by some foreign country. In other words, the old evil Spanish heritage raises its head again.

Thus, as indicated previously, the Spanish American university has no full time regular faculty, no campus, no required class attendance and no campus or student body life. The one unifying element is the feeling of being students and this a special class of university students. It raises them above the masses and most of the middle class and, as a consequence, they arrogate unto themselves certain privileges, especially those of leadership in thinking and in politics. It is for this reason that many strikes and political movements arise among the university students. Some of the reasons for this state of affairs have been seen previously, others will appear later. The fact that they can be almost arrogant about their individual importance is also contributed to by another factor to be mentioned here. It will be recalled that a small percentage of those of school age are privileged to attain a secondary education. This small percentage is fractionalized for the number who graduate from a university. Thus the economic law of scarcity and demand is set into full play. They are so few in number that an exaggerated value and importance is attributed to them. To this must be added the fact that an education consists of acquired information. This information, it will be recalled, is imparted by means of lectures. There are few libraries, mostly private, and few laboratories. Thus there is no custom of verifying statements or theories and no investigation or experimentation. The inquiring mind is rare.

An example from the humanities may be enlightening. An author may be invited to lecture three hours a week on literature. His procedure will be to review a novel, let us say an American novel, after which he will present the criticism, both his own and that of others. He then proceeds to the next piece of literature, and continues in this manner. The students take or acquire notes, memorize them and answer examination questions on that basis. The literature in question is not available in a library. The students never see the original work unless they are unusually enterprising and buy the work on their own initiative.

Spanish America has perpetuated another tradition inherited from Spain, the tradition of learning for the sake of learning, or as Castro says, knowledge for the sake of knowledge. Since there is no tradition or custom of verifying theories, no investigation or research to learn more or how to apply what is known, so likewise there are no specialists or experts. No one really stands out because of his special knowledge in a limited area in which he can operate with the greatest possible efficiency. Everybody knows as much as everybody else, no one has a right to claim more knowledge than any one else, hence every one is an expert and a specialist. The fact of the matter is that arguments go on endlessly since there is no accepted method of proving or disproving any theory. One theory is as good as another and no one will give in or admit defeat because it would cause him to lose stature, hence he who shouts the loudest and the longest wins. Fortunately, this situation is showing signs of change. Recently, research centers have been set up and they promise great things for Spanish America.

Clearly, the kind of education described above based on knowledge for the sake of knowledge, lends strength and force to self confidence in contradistinction to the Anglo feeling of inferiority which sometimes leads to inordinate conceit and in many cases leads to a case of ulcers. The Spanish American is safe and secure in the knowledge that he knows. Few of them have ulcers of the stomach. What it is that he actually knows has already been set forth in chapter IV.

The foregoing is hardly a preface to the fact that their thinkers have themselves taken their education system to task. For one thing they rebel against science and its mechanizing tendency which, obviously, does not magnify the individual. An Argentine philosopher, Ignacio Prudencia Bustillo, in his book *Ensayo de Filosofía Jurídica* expounded his philosophical ideas on how to change reality. He was not sure how much the university had influenced politics, but he was sure that the verbalistic and charlatan education imported by the law faculties had not contributed in any way to effective progress. It was his firm belief that efforts must be directed toward providing a practical education. He pointed up the desirability of model farms and cited those set up by Booker T. Washington in the United States for the education of the Negro. On model farms the Indian could be taught modern agricultural methods. He was convinced that what was needed was more technicians, agronomists, and mercantile specialists, and fewer men trained in the literary field. His contention regarding the model farms has been born out in a recent experiment in Peru. Cornell University has carried on a program in the Andes known as the Vicos Experiment. Writing about it in *The Coming Explosion in Latin America*, Clark describes it as a modest project with never more than two Anglo and two Peruvian experts at the Indian community. It was founded on self help with no handouts. In ten years many of the Indians became landowners, food production doubled, health and education improved markedly. An entire chapter of his book is devoted to this program which offers lessons for all to learn.

What was more important to most Spanish American thinkers was the necessity of eliminating the Spanish heritage, the Spanish tradition. They would modify the subconscious mind and transform the people from absolutists into a democratic people. This, they realized, required the establishment of bases on which a vigorous personality and a vigorous nationality could rise. These bases would rest on the general concept that the objective of teaching is production and not mere assimilation of knowledge. These ideas were summarized and expressed by the Argentine Alfredo Ferreira who went on to criticize the *a priori* education system. He believed that education must be experimental, positivistic and look to the present and possibly to the future. An *a priori* program is bound to cause trouble since it sets limitations and precise details and thus destroys the initiative of both teachers and students whose physical, moral and intellectual perfection depend principally on their individual, spontaneous (ingenious, as Dr. Castro would say) work. He went on to say that the uniformity of teaching specific subjects (the *a priori* course of study) must be destroyed and general directions should be given within which both teachers and students can develop freely. To him examinations are formulas which prove nothing and should be replaced by accomplished exhibits and demonstrations.

The foregoing ideas are often echoed by other Spanish American thinkers with the additional criticism that the Hispanic American has no practical sense and does not know how to deal with reality. He idealizes it and then forgets it.

Zea continues this vein with the statement that the Spanish race was considered utopian, idealistic and visionary and sacrificed reality to its dreams while scorning every material effort. In other words, it clung to its sense of casticity. But Zea goes on with a bitter accusation that it follows of necessity that the nations of this race would have to be inferior to people who have a practical mind. As examples of the latter he cites England and the United States, and goes on to say that history bears this out. As proof he points to England's defeat of theocratic Spain, and her sons had defeated the sons of Spain in America. North America had prevailed because it had overtaken a weak people. But in his view no one was to blame for this weakness; it was a racial defect. He thinks the Mexician (read Spanish Americans) failed to organize themselves and had done nothing from the time of their independence but kill each other over ideas that were only words (verbalism) and over *caudillos* who claimed to incarnate these ideas. Hence, the need to tear out the root of this evil characteristic inherited from Spain (the Messianic attitude).

Scientific Activity

Until the beginning of the present century, scientific and technical progress in Latin America was the result of the work of researchers who wrested secrets from nature in laboratories that were poorly equipped, and who often worked in an atmosphere of indifference or incomprehension. In spite of the industrial revolution and of the progress of all kinds which had been derived from it, neither governments nor people understood (for reasons set forth previously) the enormous benefits that might be expected from the cultivation of what was then called pure science. It was with World War I that scientific research began to be valued in both the theoretical and its applied aspects. A new professional activity came into being — that of the scientific researcher.

While other countries adapted themselves quickly to the new trend, Latin America was not in a position to do so. In the past its scientists, and there were many whose names cannot be overlooked, because of the lack of support and resources, had preferred to work in the fields of biology and experimental medicine and the so-called natural sciences, such as botany, geology, paleontology, zoology — fields which lent themselves to individual labor (and the magnification of the personality) and which offered concrete results even to the scientist with limited resources at his disposal. Furthermore, the intellectual climate was not favorable to scientific research and the economy was not disposed to support it. The latter was based typically on agriculture and stock-raising and in some countries limited to one crop. Industrialization had hardly begun. When it did some countries were dominated by the idea that only those researchers which promised immediate practical application should be encouraged.

As can readily be seen, science labored under rather discouraging conditions. Nevertheless, there were those scientists who forged ahead regardless and slowly created a more favorable atmosphere. More recently, there has developed an understanding of the necessity of creating and supporting institutions dedicated to scientific and technological research. Advances in research have been in direct proportion to the economic ability of the country to support it. There is undeniably a great eagerness and this will produce results of a concrete nature in the near future.

A distinguished Latin American scientist, Professor Bernardo A. Houssay, Nobel prize winner in medicine (1947), has remarked that "scientific research is not a normal occupa[illegible]mong us since in Latin America it requres self-denial and sacrifice, occasionally real heroism; nevertheless, men of science have been developed who have made important original scientific researches and who have been outstanding for their intellectual and moral qualities."

It will be of interest here to note some of the Spanish American institutions that are dedicated to research in order to give an idea of the growth of scientific studies. Precisely because it is an abstract discipline and because progress in it is possible without great resources, achievements in the field of mathematics have had the widest repercussions thanks to the following: The Institute of Mathematics of the University of Buenos Aires, Argentina. Founded and directed for thirty years by Professor Julio Rey Pastor, known throughout the world for his work in topology, theory of functions, algebraic geometry and the history and epistomology of mathematics; the Institute of Mathematics at Rosario, Argentina, headed by Professor B. Levi, specializing in analysis, logic and mathematical physics; the Mexican

School of Mathematics, which with C. Graeff Fernández, M. Sandoval Villarta, and A. Barajas, among others, has made important contributions to the gravitational theory of the American mathematician George A. Birkhoff; and the Institutes of Brazil, Uruguay, Cuba and other countries in which dozens of distinguished mathematicians are making contributions that demonstrate real progress.

Physics began to acquire importance in several countries about 1930, but it is mostly since the end of World War II that notable progress has been made. In Mexico, which has developed a group of outstanding theoretical physicists and in Argentina where work is progressing at an increasing rate there is great and optimistic promise. Three other institutions recently created but already distinguished for their original research, are the laboratory of Cosmic Physics, directed by Professor Ismael Escobar, at Chacaltaya, Bolivia, 5,500 meters above sea level; the Institute for the Investigation of Cosmic Radiation in Chile, founded by Professor Gabriel Alvial Cáceres; and the Laboratory of Crystallography and Molecular Physics of the University of Chile, directed by Professor N. Joel.

In the field of astronomy, universal renown is enjoyed by the observatories of Córdoba and La Plata in Argentina, which have made valuable observations of the southern sky and have collaborated in international scientific projects, and by the observatories of Tonanzintla and Tucubaya in Mexico. The latter are directed by Guillermo Haro, whose distinguished work and previous discoveries of novae and his research on the Orion nebula and planetary nebulae have given him an outstanding place in the scientific field. Without mentioning the accomplishments of Latin America in the fields of chemistry, geology, botany and physiochemistry, we may conclude with their achievements in the fields of biology and experimental medicine. In Argentina, physiologists have written a new chapter on the endocrine regulation of glucidic metabolism through the work of Professor Houssay. Among his disciples are such outstanding men as Professor J. T. Lewis, Director of the Institute for Medical Research at Rosario; Dr. Oscar Orías, Director of the Mercedes and Martín Ferreyra Institute at Córdoba; and Dr. H. P. Chiodi, Director of the Institute of Altitude Biology at Jujuy. Mexico is noteworthy for Dr. Chávez' Institute of Cardiology, the Biological Institute which is directed by Dr. Roberto Llamas, the Institute for Tropical Diseases and that of Medical and Biological Studies of the National Autonomous University. Uruguay has the distinguished Institute for Biological Sciences directed by Dr. Clemente Estable, whose Department of Cellular Ultrastructure headed by Professor E. de Robertis, excels in research by electron microscopy. Venezuela may take pride in its Institute for Experimental Medicine led by Professor Augusto Pi Suñer, and the recently created Institute for Neurology and Cerebral Research, directed by H. Fernández Morán; Perú, in its Institute of Andean

Biology, founded by Dr. Carlos Monge M., which has stations and laboratories at the town of Huancayo (for geophysics) at 3,260 meters above sea level, at Morococha at 4,540 meters, and at Mina Volcán at 5,030 meters; Chile in its Institute for Experimental Physiology headed by Dr. F. Hoffmann, and the Marine Biology Station, directed by P. Yáñez; Cuba in its Radio Isotope Laboratory.

Scientists from all over the world are now unanimous in their praise of the scientific institutions and workers in Latin America. The praise comes from such men as Dr. Paul E. Aegersold, Director of the Isotopes Division of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, on his return from a trip through several countries; Dr. G. L. Brownell, Director of the Physics Research Laboratory at the Massachusettes General Hospital in Boston and Research Associate at M. I. T.

Intellectual Life

It is time now to deal with the upper class, the intellectual elite, the aristocracy of thought beginning at a point soon after the revolutions for independence. Latin America not only had its wars for independence, it also had a revolution for independence.

New ideals regarding man, the social order, and the universe began to seep in during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The flow increased with the beginning of the wars of independence and helped to undermine the foundations of this anachronous medievalism. Later, the ideas pouring in from the outside took on the semblance of a flood. Four or five hundred years after the humanists began to appear in Europe, Latin America produced humanists of its own who gradually replaced the dying scholastics in the old colonial academies and in the royal and pontifical colleges and universities, opened new seats of higher learning (in Buenos Aires, Santiago, Montevideo, and elsewhere), and vigorously disputed with clerics and peripetetics in the forum and the press. Frequently they paid the penalty of imprisonment or exile for their bold ideas and innovations; but they managed to find ink and paper in the jails, or to expound their views in more tolerant neighboring states, or, if their ostracism sent them as far afield as the United States, England or France, they gained access to still more books and other novel ideas. For, unlike the humanists of an earlier epoch, these belated humanists of Latin America did not seek the new learning so much in dusty tomes and manuscripts, in ancient lore, as in the new treatises of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

They did become proficient in many of the applied sciences — in technology, in invention. Living in countries without much good coking coal and with such coal as they had seldom conveniently located in respect to their iron ore, they were hampered by lack of the basic material resources for the development of the major techni-

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cal skills. They were also handicapped by a traditional aversion to the manual arts, the personality heritage, their late start, and by the perpetual heat of their vast tropical regions. Although they did a good many things surprisingly well, they rarely became experts in anything, with the possible exception of poetry and law, not even efficient in politics and the brutal military art in spite of all the time they devoted to these occupations. As a rule they were more interested in the understanding of ideas than in their practical application. They seldom felt the urge to become specialists; their models were the European encyclopedists, whose writings were the first to stimulate their minds and emotions.

It is true that they produced no great books in the fields of science and philosophy; but they wrote good poetry, revealed a genius for languages, exhibited a talent for treatises on all branches of law, made some contributions to botany, geography and medicine, produced not a few histories of literature, published some novels and short stories, revealed talent as journalists and polemists, became apt pronunciamiento artists, displayed uncommon oratorical gifts, and sometimes rose to the rank of *pensadores*, thinkers, at least in the opinion of their compatriots.

Whatever one may conclude about their literary product, its quantity cannot be disputed. They blanketed their towns and cities with the output of their printing presses. They were thrilled after a long twilight of repression to see their literary compositions in print. Few oligarchies were ever more vocal, more prolific with the pen, than this Latin American literary group of the early national epoch, whose members shuffled back and forth between the government buildings and their writing desks, between printing establishments and jails, between republics, between the home countries and the lands overseas. Their collected works, depending mainly on circumstances and longevity, filled from three or four to more than fifty volumes. Their contemporaries in the United States and Europe were absorbed in commerce and industry, busy with devices and inventions to speed production and distribution. The Latin American intellectuals were mainly concerned with ideas and literary style, although most of them played a part in politics, and politics always involved them in polemics and sometimes in civil wars.

They liked to express lofty ideals and glowing sentiments in torrents of words. The framing of long constitutions, the longer the better; the perfection of the national laws; the writing of the national anthems; the compilation of legal codes; the delivery of orations on anniversaries of independence or at the tombs of dead heroes whose mutilated bodies had been reclaimed from the battlefield or whose remains had just been shipped home from exile; the denunciation of a tyrant or some other evil thing; a wail about the mundane fate of man; an intimate description of how it feels to fall in love and of the lady involved; an ode to a newborn child; verses on the condor's freedom or the last Inca's determination fiercely to resist enslavement; an epic on the noble Indian or the vanishing gaucho; a portrayal of the ecstasy produced by a distant peak or a nearby waterfall; an allocution to poetry itself; a discourse on liberty, justice or duty, on the relics of an ancient civilization, or on the latest events and trends in Europe; a polished summary of the most recent discoveries in astronomy or medicine; a flowing exposition of the latest theories in philosophy, metaphysics, literature, or social organization -- nothing made them happier or contributed more to their self-esteem, i.e., the magnification of the personality.

As we have seen, the word was often the end as well as the beginning. Action was comparatively unimportant except in political and military maneuvers or in escaping from the clutches of an angry antagonist. In other spheres it was left largely to the unsophisticated and the under privileged, who bore the burden of manual toil and even the brunt of military combat. Although there were some notable exceptions, this little aristocracy of letters, in spite of the fine sentiments embodied in its flowing sentences, was not deeply concerned with the welfare of the masses. The task of uplifting these dumb and degraded multitudes must have seemed almost hopeless anyway. It was much easier to dismiss them from the mind or salve the individual conscience and the national pride by erecting a facade of noble laws, while making no serious attempt to enforce them. In general, the best efforts of the members of the literary groups were devoted to self-expression and self-improvement. On this point, at least, their attitude suggests a cold realism. The task of keeping up with the thoughts and moods of the world overseas was heavy enough without assuming any additional burdens. By concentrating on the problem of self-instruction and self-development at least a few men in each republic could scale the tall ladder of learning. Perhaps the law of gravity would cause this top layer of culture to trickle down as fast as those below could absorb it. Without improved means of production or the skill to use them, many humble hands were required to produce the bread of life for the lowly multitudes and the wealth needed by the aristocracy to purchase their material comforts and cultural amenities.

However, there were a few short breathing spells during which progress of sorts was made but there seemed to be no end to anarchy. For example, in Uruguay Dr. José Ellauri was elected president in 1873 and a number of university men called the Girondists of '73 were sent to Congress. Everything was propitious and the future was optimistic. But two years later the military seized power and appointed a president who was soon followed by a dictator and then another. There was no escaping the terrible heritage.

But why did the university men fail? That was probably the most brilliant congress of all because of the wealth of university learning displayed in the debates and the pompous eloquence of the speeches. These men had a university education, an education based on pure theory. Hence, the congressional debates were a tournament of legal erudition and rhetorical eloquence. The Congress was in reality an academy, not a parliament. Those men thought and discussed with their backs to the country employing in their debates the thoughts and the concepts or formulas learned in the classrooms or read in imported books. They did not deign to study their own national conditions and problems nor did they face social and economic problems in a practical manner — it was beneath their dignity. They attempted to apply to the country idealistic standards and laws for which the people had not yet had preparation. The outcome was failure, anarchy, dictatorship.

The relative neglect of the masses, the reluctance to undertake vigorously the task of enlightening the minds of the common people and raising their level of life, restricted the scope of the literary appeal. But primary education was not entirely neglected. Mutual instruction and a few night schools were early thought of; Lancasterians were busy in some of the towns before emancipation had been completed. In later years a growing disposition was revealed to admit that general education was the duty and function of the state, so that by 1900 the majority of the governments in the region had accepted the principle of state responsibility for the educational task and issued decrees or passed laws declaring primary education both free and compulsory. But revenues were scarce, the people and the governments alike usually lacked sustained enthusiasm for mass education, competent teachers willing to undertake the mission were few, and the laws were rarely implemented. Yet, with the multiplication of the descendants of the oligarchy, the spread of wealth, the arrival of European immigrants, and the gradual reduction of inertia, the number of literates slowly increased. While it is likely that no more than 25% or 30% of Latin America's population, around 43,000,000 in 1885 and some 62,000,000 in 1900, were able to read, and that nearly half of these were too poor or indifferent to exercise their talent, the number who could and did read was nevertheless several times larger than it had been in the 1820's when the population was only some 20,000,000 and the percentage of literacy considerably lower. One of the most severe limitations on the literary appeal was the multiplicity of national boundaries and the lack of inter-communication among many of the national units. Although there were not a few exceptions, the reading public was largely divided into eighteen separate and distinct compartments or nations. It was, therefore, quite restricted even in the largest or more progressive nations, and it included only a tiny group in the others.

The Latin American humanists of the early national period do not yield themselves readily to the refinements of classification. They were too versatile to fit into neat categories. In addition to being planters, ranchmen, mine-owners, politicians, and generals, or most of these, they were likely at the same time to be lawyers, poets, journalists, orators, short-story writers, novelists, linguists, amateur historians, naturalists, geographers, and social philosophers, or three or four of these rolled into one. Their grasp of the theoretical and practical sciences, perhaps excepting medicine, was by no means firm; and they devoted most of their time to belles lettres and the history and criticism of literature. Writing in 1965, Alba says in his *Alliance without Allies* that Latin American society is a carryover from the monarchical society of the eighteenth century with the necessary adaptations to the twentieth for survival.

A conference of Latin American ministers was held in Buenos Aires in June of 1966. Addressing one of the commissions of this conference, Gabriel Betancourt Mejía, Assistant Director of UNESCO, in an opening speech, declared that the majority of the structures of the Latin American nations belong to the nineteenth century, and all popular needs and aspirations collide with and are defeated by them. Betancourt Mejia is from Colombia and his statement, which was published in the Monterrey, Mexico, newspaper *El Porvenir* for 25 June 1966, is not contradictory to the statement, in the preceding paragraph inasmuch as the nineteenth century is the face of the eighteenth.

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Chapter XII

Art And Tradition

To say Spanish American is to say clean, artistic, musical and poetic. There is an innate, artistic sense that is characteristic of these people and which expresses itself irrepressibly. The adobe home in the great Southwest of the United States has flowers at the front door, if no where else, is freshly plastered annually inside with a dazzling white mineral called *caliche*, and the dirt floor is swept clean at all times. In the *favelas* of Brazil, in the discarded-tin-and-card-board shanties of Spanish America there are flowers or flower pots or hanging flowers, a picture postcard or the print of a saint on the wall. In the middle and upper class homes construction is symmetrical, art is on display or in the process of creation every where, everybody is a poet and a musician. There is singing and dancing and the recitation of poetry on any worthy occasion or no occasion at all. Spanish America had its troubadours, better known as *payadores*, who would extemporaneously compose a ballad on any subject in exchange for a glass of *pulque* or wine. As Spain had its *Poema de Mio Cid*, so in Argentina there is the only American epic, *Martín Fierro*, on the life of the *gaucho*.

Today there is no *payador* but one who earns the respect of Spanish Americans may find himself caught up in the complimentary game of *bombas*. It goes by different names in many places and it begins when some one recites a rhyming couplet which he has composed on the spot and expresses a compliment to the person who is thus being shown that he has been accepted. This person, in turn, must return the compliment or pass one on to another person, in rhyme, in order to discharge his obligation in the game. This is most likely to happen at any fiesta or picnic.

The interest in form has been characteristic down through the ages and manifests itself today through all the available channels including language. The arts, quite naturally, offer an excellent outlet and artistic expression in all forms and has always been prominent, beginning with the paintings on the cave walls at Altamira, Spain, dating back beyond the period of recorded history.

In the New World, however, modern art became a fusion of native, European and African elements. This process began almost with colonization and continued throughout most of the eighteenth century. The result has been considerable confusion concerning Spanish American art. The temples, carved stone figures and other artifacts of pre-Columbian civilizations have been photographed by tourists, advertising and travel agents, even included in Spanish language textbooks in the United States as representative of Spanish American art. This is equivalent to photographing a Navaho sandpainting, a hogan, a teepee or a cliff dwelling and labeling it United States art.

Painting

At the end of the eighteenth century academies of art began to be founded in several Spanish American republics. Their emphasis on European trends interrupted the evolution of a genuine American art. The wars for independence had the same effect for they caused those who had been studying in the academies to flee to Europe. After independence they returned and painted the New World epic according to the formulas of Paris, Madrid and Rome. At the same time and under the influence of positivism they left off the cultivation of the ecclesiastical arts.

In addition to the historical genre, portraits were in great demand among government officials and the upper class. Neo-classicism got the upperhand under the leadership of such painters as Louis David, J. A. D. Ingres, Francisco de Goya and his disciples. By the time of the outbreak of World War I this movement had produced outstanding figures such as Prilidiano Pueyrredón (1823-1870) in Argentina; Juan Manuel Blanes (1830-1901) in Uruguay; and Arturo Michelena (1863-1898) in Venezuela.

Along with the academic tradition there was a continuation of the fusion of Indian and Spanish elements in certain countries. Folk arts and crafts were cultivated. A number of artists, unifluenced by official or academic trends, produced original creations that were notable for their grace and spontaneity. Mexico was noted in this respect for regional and even provincial artists painted portraits, still lifes and everyday scenes with vivid imagination and an innocence that has endured. An example of this kind of artist is seen in the Mexican José Guadalupe Posada (1851-1913), an outstanding illustrator and engraver. The traditions of Spanish art were combined with the plastic force of the folk theme in Posada's metal engravings to illustrate the popular *corridos*. He is recognized as the most potent influence on modern mural painting in Mexico, especially on the work of Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco.

Of all the cultural activities in Spanish America during the twentieth century, painting is probably the one that has been most cultivated. It has reached a maturity that is well demonstrated when the government of Mexico commissioned Diego Rivera (b.1887) in 1921, and other young artists, to do the murals for a number of public buildings. During fourteen years Rivera had lived and studied in

Europe, mostly in Paris, making a careful study of all the forms of modern art as well as those of the past. Upon his return to Mexico he turned to local traditions of both the colonial period and the indigenous. At the same time he did not entirely ignore the nineteenth century painters and has been a constant defender of the merits of José Velasco. So it is that after the most active phase of the Mexican Revolution had ended, around 1921, Rivera with his mastery of technique and his personal vision, made of his paintings a true representation of Mexican life and its social problems. Along with him there stands José Clemente Orozco (1883-1949), educated in Mexico, who represented a deep and penetrating version of Mexican reality along with a surprising mastery of execution. Another outstanding artist is David Alfaro Sequeiros (b. 1898) with a vigorous and audacious style. The work of these artists proved to be the first important effort by Spanish American artists to integrate the social, folklore and national elements into a new art form of heroic dimensions. The unabashed aim was didactic. Dozens of public buildings were covered with murals and the fame of this movement reached as far abroad as the United States and Russia where Mexican artists have been invited to paint murals. The Directors of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City are of the opinion that the Mexican school is the one that has exercised the greatest influence in recent years upon United States art.

The disciples and followers of the three great figures, however, soon became mired in a repetitiousness that resulted in a revolt against a political art. The pure plastic values were gradually abandoned. The master personality on the positive side was Rufino Tamayo who is highly esteemed as one of the world's most important contemporary painters. The leader of a new movement looking toward the integration of modern international artistic expression with the native art forms of the pre-Columbian era, Tamayo has at last been recognized in his own country after winning renown abroad. In all probability the most influential school of art that America has produced in the twentieth century is the Mexican school of mural painting. Its tremendous influence has been felt all over the hemisphere and has even spread to other continents.

There have been and are many other painters in Mexico some of whom worked on murals and others who worked at the easle and drawing. These include, among others, such names as Miguel Covarrubias (b. 1904) who is well known in the United States for his imaginative design and his theater decorations. Manuel Rodríguez Lozano (b. 1896), Abraham Angel (1905-1924), Julio Castellanos (1905-1947), Jesús Guerrero (b. 1910), María Izquierdo (b. 1906) and many others.

While this major revolution was taking place in Mexico, Post Impressionism trends were spreading among the other Spanish American countries. Later on Mexico's example stimulates an attempt to express American life in painting. This movement had its followers in Camilo Egas in Ecuador; José Sabogal (b. 1888) in Peru and his countrymen Julio Codesido (b. 1892) and Camilo Blas (b. 1903), all of whom search for themes in the life of the Indian, the cities and the fields.

In Argentina there is considerable artistic activity and literally hundreds of painters appear, especially with the advent of modern tendencies and after the first exhibition by Emilio Pettoruti (b. 1894), in 1924. The River Plate school is characterized by expert technique which is seen, for example, in the work of Miguel Carlos Victorica, Ramón Gómez Cornet (b. 1898), Lino Splimbergo (b. 1896), Horacio Butler (b. 1897) and Antonio Berni (b. 1905). Among others who might be included are Raquel Forner (b. 1902) and Raul Soldi (b. 1905). There is a variety of tendencies from the abstract work of the Uruguayan Joaquín Torres García (b. 1874) to the delightfully ingenious paintings of Norah Borges (b. 1903).

This widespread and persistent activity has kept Spanish America in the forefront in present day painting. Without question, four or five artists must be numbered among the great of the contemporary world. There are four artists in Uruguay who lived and worked abroad during the greater part of their careers without breaking their ties with the homeland and without any noticeable rebellion against academism. One of these, Pedro Figari (1861-1938) was self-taught and painted as a hobby while practicing his profession as a lawyer. He began about 1918 and painted in Buenos Aires, Paris and later in Montevideo where he died. He had a marvelous sense of color and his Americanism showed through the irony with which he treated post-colonial themes. Through all his work, however, there is a quality that can be described only as French. Figari painted the elegant salons of the 1800's, the dances of the Negros, the life of the *gaucho*, and historic themes with fascinating expression.

Another of the four, Joaquín Torres García (1874-1949) obtained his training in Catalonia, Spain, where he painted for many years. He became interested in several advanced movements such as Dutch Constructivism and the Free Symbolism of Paul Klee. With these he blended his own pre-Columbian elements to produce his own typical and personal style. Toward the end of his life he set up shop in Montevideo where he died. His pupils continued his school.

Rafael Barradas (1890-1929) was a third member of this group and lived a great part of his life in Spain where he won recognition as an illustrator and a painter. He never gave up his Uruguayan background and subjects, and his work still influences generations of Uruguayan painters.

The fourth among these important contributors to modern art is the Uruguayan expressionist, Antonio Frasconi, who has been living in the United States. His principal contribution consists of wood-cut engraving and he is considered one of the most prominent modern artists working in that medium.

Art forms began to break away from academic rule as seen in the work of artists in other Spanish American countries. This took place more or less simultaneously with the Mexican mural movement. In Cuba it began after 1925 with the first group of artists who went to France. The art they created when they returned was concerned both with form and national content. Their source of inspiration consisted of elements of colonial architecture of the island, its luxuriant flora and the African costumes and rites that had been preserved by the Negroes. In the forefront of this group was the woman painter, Amelia Páez, who used Cuban vegetation and colonial relics to great advantage in an abstract manner. Wilfredo Lam is another important member of this group who interprets esoteric elements with Afro-Cuban ceremonies and magic. Other artists included in this group are Mario Careño, Felipe Orlando, Cundo Bermúdez, Luis Martínez Pedro, René Portocarrero and Roberto Diago. They all display an acute interest in a bizarre use of color which is the principal characteristic of modern Cuban painting.

Just before and since World War II there has been a flourishing native current, based on the Mexican school, in the art of the Andean countries of Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. At the same time there has been a concurrent reflection of European Post-Impressionism in such countries as Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela. Around 1950 a new influence was felt in all the Spanish American countries with varying degrees of energy in each. This is the non-objective or non-figurative mode of expression. It was taken up by most of the younger generation, principally by those who were under thirty, as well as by some of the older painters who had been accustomed to a more objective style. Although this is a more or less general trend in Spanish America, it is not yet old enough to be considered a definite development that has come to stay.

Casting, Carving and Molding

It appears that work in stone and other hard materials is not as attractive and popular as the other arts in Spanish America. True, there are many statues, figures and other monuments but they are more often cast. There is some interest also in the casting of smaller articles in the crafts, for household use and for export. Ecuador has a thriving business in the casting of brass and bronze objects such as urns, vases, candle holders and Spanish style "antique" stirrups.

There is possibly more interest in carving wood and other soft materials such as leather, bone and vegetable ivory in Ecuador. There are some outstanding sculptors, however, and they are commissioned to do the public monuments in their respective countries. Among them, the Argentine Rogelio Irurtia (b. 1879) whose vigorous and majestic technique has wrought the statues of Rivadavia, Dorrego and the *Canto al trabajo*, all in Buenos Aires. An outstanding wood carver is Miguel Angel Tejada of Quito, Ecuador, who was awarded a United Nations study grant in 1953 which enabled him to travel to and study art in Italy. Ecuador has been noted for its carving in several media. The hand carved figures of walnut representing typical people and animals are quite attractive and in great demand. The *tagua* nut or vegetable ivory has also contributed some artistic products. When first extracted from the ground it is soft and can be carved as easily as soap. Exposure to air causes it to harden until it has the density and appearance of ivory. Bone sliced in thin sheets is effectively used as surface material on jewel boxes, small chests and similar products. The added silver ornaments and India ink etchings made with pen add to the attractiveness and artistry of the artefacts.

There is much use of wood in the making of an innumerable variety of pieces of furniture such as chests, tables, desks, china cabinets, coffee tables and many other pieces, especially in the style of earlier centuries. The inlaid wood with seventeenth century designs and expert craftsmanship produce massive pieces that are quite attractive in the appropriate setting. The craftsmen who engage in this type of work find it impossible to supply the demand for their product. The eighteenth century hand carved statues of religious figures, made of walnut with a high polish on face and hands, demand high prices. Some silver work of acceptable craftsmanship is also carried on in Ecuador but Peru is more famous in this respect, as Mexico is in leather work.

With respect to silver work of all types, Peru has a well earned reputation for excellence in workmanship and design, for gracefulness, variety and durability. Textiles such as hand woven blankets, *ponchos* and rugs, all woven from alpaca and llama wool are well known. By the law of the land, the vicuña and all products made therefrom may not be exported but are in great demand within the country, particularly the afghans and similar objects made from the exceptionally fine wool. Likewise, old books, documents and typewriters are among items of interest to the traveler which may not be exported.

There are many ceramic products for both domestic and export trade produced with the maker's characteristic artistic touch regardless of whether he can read and write. The ceramic bulls made in Pucarrá of southeastern Peru are in great demand for their delicacy and ornamentation. There is a special rug weaver in the village of Puno on Lake Titicaca (12,000 feet above sea level) whose reputation brings him more business than he can manage. An Anglo resident in Lima ordered a special rug of alpaca wool, entirely white and according to specific but rather large dimensions. The weaving was delayed time and again which allowed time for a friendship to grow up between craftsman and his customer. Typically, the weaver decided to add an extra special touch to the job he was doing for his friend. In spite of delays, the rug was finally delivered and the proud possessor grandly unrolled it before numerous friends on the living room floor. All were startled by the "special design" woven into the center of the rug in token of friendship. It turned out to be an inverted reproduction, in red on the otherwise solid white rug, of the label from a can of Campbell's Pork and Beans.

The ceramic tiles made in Puebla, Mexico, have already been mentioned. Ceramics take another form in some other countries. In the Central American Republic of El Salvador there is an inland town by the name of Ilobasco reached from the capital city of San Salvador by a long, hot and dusty trip over dirt and cobblestone roads. It is nonetheless well worth the trip for here the venturesome traveler will find an unusually interesting industry in full swing. In this tropical town the craftsmen produce figurines of all sizes representing a variety of types of people and animals. The industry, through the initiative of an immigrant family, the Herreras, is of Spanish origin. The Herrera family migrated to Mexico and later moved to El Salvador in the eighteenth century to settle in the village of Ilobasco. There, in this remote town, the family cannot possibly produce enough of its product to satisfy the demand.

The art and skill for which the family is noted has been inherited by some member of each succeeding generation and is literally an inimitable skill. Dominga is the last in the line and the skill of her nimble fingers is hypnotizing as she takes a small piece of clay, molds and turns it in her hand to produce a perfect chick whose swan mother is not two inches high while both are in perfect proportion. Curious visitors use a magnifying glass to examine her product, which was made without benefit of glass or instrument, and find it perfect in all details. Under the glass, the knapsack of a two-inch high soldier was found to bear the owner's initials which were invisible to the naked eye.

In the same village where Dominga Herrera plies her trade, other families specialize in larger products such, for example, as the ten inch high figure of a *campesino*, a Salvadorean farmer, affectionately known by the people as Juan Pueblo (John Q. Citizen) of El Salvador who always has a bundle of *La Tribuna* newspapers under his arm. *La Tribuna* also carries a likeness of Juan Pueblo accompanied by his pithy remarks concerning the subject of most popular interest of the day, usually politics, in verse on the front page.

In Honduras, handcrafts are for home consumption only and each family is as self-sufficient as were the Pioneer families of an earlier day in the United States. There is a ceramics factory in the capital city, Tegucigalpa, that was given a much needed boost by the Point IV Program and has since been doing a thriving business.

Silver work from Taxco in Mexico is popular as are numerous other handcrafts from this country, including the previously mentioned leather work. A factory of hand-blown, colored and artistically formed glass in Monterrey is unable to supply the demand. Guatemala is noted for its colorful textiles and some silver work. The Republic of El Salvador is also noted for its work in iguana skin from which purses, shoes and belts, among other things, are produced. Costa Rica is noted for its colorful oxcarts, both miniature and full size, and the inlaid woodwork using the innumerable hardwoods that are so abundant in the country and are exported for commercial use. Other countries have their specialties, e.g., the copper work in Chile but space permits no further listings. In a digressive note, attention may be called to a handcraft that apparently has died out in the great Southwest of the United States. Among other things, New Mexico used to be noted for its work in horsehair in such forms as belts, hatbands, lariats, saddle cinches, bridles and other items. These articles no longer make their appearance.

In Spanish America, there are many other fascinating and artistic handcrafts worthy of mention. This account may be closed with one that is also an industry of considerable economic importance to the country. The famous Panama hat is an outstanding example of the use of fibers and reeds. During colonial times all shipments to and from the New World were required by Spain to go through Panama to be transhipped for their final destination whether it was any part of the New World or the mother country. Hence, the hat made of reeds in Monti Cristi and Jipijapa, Ecuador, became known as the Panama hat. For the same reason, the medicinal sap extracted from the balsam tree of El Salvador became known as Peruvian Balsam.

There is a large variety of products made from fibers such as *henequén* and *sisal*, to mention only two. They include, besides rope and cords, shipping and shopping bags, work hats, saddle cinches and a large number of ornamental but perhaps not so useful items for the tourist trade.

Much locally made pottery of an unpretentious grade is turned out for both ornamental and kitchen use in most of the republics.

Architecture

The nineteenth century was filled with a wide variety of attempts at all types of architecture that lasted down into the first part of the twentieth. These have settled down, however, to two general trends: the colonial which gets its inspiration from that era of Spanish and Portuguese domination, and the innovations of a functional nature. At one time or another there have been independent offshoots such as the houses of Morales and Mata in La Habana, built of white stone with black wrought iron grills and large galeries adapted to the tropical climate. The colonial trend has produced its best works in Mexico where it was comparatively easy to follow the thread of tradition. Today, however, this style is giving way to that of functional form which is also very lively there as it is in Argentina and Uruguay.

It is worth noting at this point that there are vast regions in Mexico and the Andean countries where wood is either non-existent or too expensive to be used for construction purposes. In these regions, much very artistic use is made of concrete, iron, glass and artificial colored stone. Tile of different types and coloring is quite prominent in its use for floors, walls, roofs, and parks. Puebla, Mexico, is famous for its *azulejos* (white ceramic tile decorated in blue). The red semicircular tile used on roofs is seen in most countries although many buildings are flat topped.

For unfortunate reasons, Latin America insists upon comparing itself with Anglo America which had a fifty-year head start as an independent, self-governing nation. As a consequence, the people south of the Río Grande attempt valiantly to pull themselves up by their bootstraps from the era of the oxcart to the jetliner age. Thus they are by-passing the horse and buggy, the steamer and the railroad which they have never known, and have not actually adjusted to the automobile, all of which, by turns, had an influence upon Anglo architects. Now, the entire region, without previous preparation, is making superhuman efforts to adjust to the age of the faster-than-sound jetliner with all the creaks, groans and breakdowns that inevitably accompany it.

Even this void and the great changes that later passed over Spanish America left their imprint upon the architecture. The university cities of Caracas, Mexico, Monterrey, and Bogotá have attracted attention by their adaptation, and in fact, a broad spectrum of styles is to be found. The extensive scope and brilliant design have been ahead of the United States, in general terms, for twenty years or more. Apartment houses are an innovation in the southern part of the hemisphere and not particularly popular as yet, but few in the United States can compete with them.

As yet, Latin America has produced no Wright nor other outstanding men such as Perret or Behrens, but the late Uruguayan architect, Julio Vilamajó, one of two Latin Americans on the United Nations Building Commission, has done some distinctive work. He has also headed a school of architecture at Montevideo which has been the most advanced. For several decades architecture lolled in the doldrums of an applied French blind alley until it was rescued by several innovators. A new road was broken by such men as José Villagrán in Mexico, Sergio Larraín in Chile and Carlos Villanueva in Venezuela. The latter is responsible for some brilliant work and the group are training some able young men. A number of foreigners have made names for themselves including the Spaniards Felix Candela in

Mexico and Antonio Bonet in Argentina; Mario Bianco in Peru and José Deffini in Argentina; all have made positive contributions. Fleeing from the Nazi regime there are some highly respected personalities such as Max Cetto, Paul Linder, Gropius Mies and Mendel Sohn in Mexico and Peru. Venezuela has a leading practitioner in the person of an Anglo, Don Hatch.

Spanish America cannot very well follow the leadership of the United States in architecture because of the lack of similar building materials, the differing predominant climatic conditions and the different way of life. This is one profession in which the intense tropical light, actually a glare in much of the region, is an important factor. This and two other factors have a strong bearing on construction with special reference to windows. Something must be done to weaken the glare in many homes while commercial buildings present two other problems. Store windows on the ground floor must be protected in times of riot and revolution. For this purpose they are frequently constructed with heavy metal blinds that operate exactly like an Anglo's garage door that is raised to admit the car. The other factor is one of acoustics. The glass in store windows is often slanted a few degrees inward at the top so that street sounds are reflected upward and outward, i.e., away from the street.

Structural steel is scarce and most of it must be imported at great cost in both price and import duties. While, as mentioned previously, wood is scarce in some countries, there are others where sidewalks, chicken houses and house frames are built of mahogany since this is the wood in greatest supply. Building stone is not particularly abundant, and marble and other facing materials of local origin are generally of an inferior quality and, if unavailable, are again expensive to import. Much brick is made, either on the premises or in factories, as are tiles. When used for construction purposes brick is often oiled or varnished against moisture in the humid climates. Just as Spanish Americans in the United States Southwest often construct a house frame of lumber, lath it and then fill the walls with mud, so in Spanish America construction often consists of cement-plastered walls filled with rubble, a poor grade of tile or brick or perhaps even mud. The cement plaster may be stucco which is later painted. Recently a mosaic of glass or glazed tile has had a popular vogue. There seems to be little consciousness of the intrinsic nature of building materials, no feeling for appropriate usage. Mosaic and tile are merely a permanent form of covering. This is the principal use of the *azulejos* from Mexico, an Iberian tradition imported by the Moors to Spain and revived in Spanish America. It is frequently used not only for flooring and bathroom walls, but also as a general wall covering and as pavement for courts, patios and public squares.

In Costa Rica where mahogany is used for sidewalks, there are two notable accomplishments. One is the first pre-fabricated building erected in the New World. The *Edificio metálico*, as it is called, was designed and the parts manufactured in Belgium. The parts were then shipped to the capital city of Costa Rica, San José, assembled in a popular park to form a two-story, all metal school building. It proudly bears the date 1880.

The other is the national theater, erected not much later, and which took full advantage of the endless kinds of hardwood growing profusely in the country. The entire floor of this large theater is a wall-to-wall mosaic of small pieces of inlaid hardwood.

Mexico is fortunate in that it has a source of natural rock which has been used to form surfaces of a more rugged and lasting nature while architecturally no less attractive than the tile. The use of reinforced concrete has lent itself to the shell and vault style of architecture usually designed by Spanish and Italian trained engineers. In this mode there are outstanding men such as Enrique de la Mora and Niemeyer who have earned a reputation through their church designs. Candela has developed ingenious designs for industrial roofing all of which are without comparison in the United States. Perhaps there is an atavistic emotional tie with the massive vaults and cathedrals in old Europe for there seems to be some feeling of kinship with segmental and parabaloid forms as they are more common in Spanish America than elsewhere. As an example, the new field house at the Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores in Monterrey, Mexico, seen from any cardinal point of the compass has the appearance of two Conestoga (covered) waggons placed back to back with the staves showing through the canvas. Even in the planning, the curve is more frequently used and, it may be added, is a personal characteristic of the work of Niemeyer. What may be called a kind of lyricism — a blending of color and curved forms — seems to have a lasting appeal to the Spanish American temperament. It appears that Mexico is the only country that consciously attempts to maintain a continuity in modern national culture with the Indian as well as the Iberian past. The major element of the cultural homogeneity is furnished by the Catholic Church, but it is slow to build today. Nevertheless, it has a powerful indirect influence.

The very large families, requiring in most countries a large staff of servants, have discouraged apartment building until just recently when it has become an avenue of escape from the large meddlesome ingroup and offered a means of independence for the newly wed younger generation. The planning of the old, large homes required a disproportionate division of living, sleeping and service areas. The degree of seclusion or privacy demanded varies from country to country. Hotels are generally conservative in this respect yet some in the tropics have dividing walls between rooms only head high, and old type saloon-like swinging doors. Many homes, in fact all the older ones, were built flush with the sidewalk and had many indoor patios or courts, of Moorish origin, open to sun and air. More recent ones are set back from the sidewalk and surrounded by high walls with broken glass cemented to the top. All openings are grilled with attractive wrought iron and all entrances are locked.

Architects of Italian origin seem to be the leaders in Colombia and Peru while the Germans seem to be in the vanguard in Mexico and are also becoming established in Peru. Startlingly enough. the leading architects in Uruguay and Argentine are Jones and Williams respectively and both belong to traditional families. Anglo influence is most obvious in the construction and design of office buildings. The homes, however, are still not planned with an eye to efficiency in housekeeping. Nor is there any need to do so as long as servants are plentiful and inexpensive. The small ruling class, the oligarchy as some call it, is the only class that can demand, and obtain, something more than mere living quarters. The exterior at least must be symmetrical and attractive even if there be an inside partition in the middle of a window. Public authorities, in particular, turn to architects as a principal expression of cultural ambition, i.e., to magnify the personality. More often than not, public buildings are commemorative and strikingly contemporaneous. Hospitals and schools are generally less exaggerated and of sounder design. The most notable evidences of artificial taste are the public housing projects, which turn out to be too expensive for those for whom they were designed. Moreover, Spanish Americans are adverse to living in the same building with strangers although they may do so enthusiastically in hotels—for short periods. Another manifestation of the official taste is found in the university cities or campuses. Construction is frequently slow, delayed by scarity of funds, but the final result is monumental.

Colombian architecture has attracted much less attention than that of Mexico or Venezuela. In many ways it stands apart by virtue of the relatively, wet, cool climate, a natural condition in the high altitude. Also the cool temperament of the almost purely northern Spanish Colombians contrasts likewise with that of other Spanish American peoples who had a more southern origin. Professional architectural relations have also been closer with the United States, even to the training of their architects and the type of problems to be solved. The excellence of the technical standards of construction shows the work of the master architect as in the case of Veoli, a pupil of Perret who shows the latter's refinement of finish. Cuellar and Serrano show more simplicity and directness in their university buildings. In this case some excellent brick construction exposed to the elements has stood up well in the damp climate. The local sandstone is pleasant in color and grain and has been used considerably, in recent years, in large slabs as a surface material for large buildings. It has not weathered well, however, and is passing out of favor.

To refer to shell construction again, especially the parabaloid type, the church of *La Purisima* in Monterrey, the industrial capital of Mexico, is the earliest (1939) of this type of design and is outstanding in Latin America. The extensive use of the shell type in Mexico, particularly for construction in industrial work, is the stock in trade of Felix Candela. These buildings look very much like concrete umbrellas. Some of the best, notably those of Juan Sordo Madeleno in Mexico City, are quieter in design and color and compare not unfavorably in interest with those of Colombia even if they may be somewhat lacking in originality.

Mexico City is built on a lake the filling of which was begun by the Indians and completed by the Spaniards. Consequently, there are peculiar construction hazards inasmuch as buildings often sink as much as a foot or two a year. A case in point is the Palace of Fine Arts. The main floor, originally constructed ten steps above street level is now even with it. Complicated adjustable piles have been invented to allow for the irregular annual settling. A similar problem but of quite different origin plagues nearly all builders in Spanish America. Architects have finally learned to cope with and to build to withstand the frequent earth shocks that occasionally reach such proportions as to be destructive of ordinary construction. Many public buildings and churches are in a perpetual state of repair both because of the frequency of earthquakes and the delays in completing the repairs. Scaffolding around buildings is a perpetual sight in Andean countries.

The campus of the National University of Mexico occupies a magnificent sight with lava formations in the foreground and a ring of mountains behind. It is undoubtedly the most spectacular suburban architectural accomplishment of the north American continent. In scale and degree of completion it has no rival in the rest of Spanish America. Bold color, architecturally scaled external mosaics and a slightly insensitive management of the conventional elements of modern design have resulted in a peculiarly Mexican intensity in which references to the Indian heritage of a pictorial rather than an architectural nature play a positive role. At the same time there are some quieter and more conventional modern structures such as Enrique de la Mora's Institute of the Humanities and the Student Union, even though over-shadowed by the taller Administration Building, the library and the buildings of the faculties of Science and Medicine.

The university city of Caracas more than rivals that of Mexico in variety of associated works of art, sculpture by Arp and Pevsner, mosaic and stained glass by Leger, and a vast auditorium ceiling by Calder. The architectural advance of Carlos Raul Villanueva to a leading position in Latin America can be seen here. His Olympic Stadium and his Aula Magna with the attached *Plaza Cubierta* are among the most vigorous examples of modern architecture to be seen any where.

Villanueva is also responsible for establishing the sound architectural traditions of the Banco Obrero and the local housing authority. The latest work, however, both the middle class apartment block at Cerro Grande and the almost unbelievably extensive operations at Cerro Piloto, is by Guido Bermúdez.

In Peru architectural activity is growing apace and, in general, is more conservative. Outside of public housing, however, there is not much notable current work. The university city between Lima and Callao is off to a good start while the school of architecture at the Escuela Nacional de Ingenieros by Bianco is a relatively modest but competent job. The new ministries have an almost Mexican bombast, but the tall buildings that are beginning to rise, in spite of earthquake hazards, to the west of the old city of Rimac, are quieter and not unpleasant in design. The Colón Theater in Lima is an interesting architectural experiment. The general styling is European, but the interior is fascinating inasmuch as the spectator has the sensation of being inside a whale. The ribs insistently demand attention and produce a sensation that must be akin to Jona's in the Biblical story.

There is relatively less new architecture in Chile and Uruguay than in Peru, but the standards of design are higher. Both countries have excellent schools of architecture and younger architects should be able to carry on from where older architects like Larraín and Vilamajó left off. Curiously enough, some of the best Argentine work is to be found in Uruguay where the holiday resort, Punta Ballena, has a club house and several individual houses by Antonio Bonet, the Spanish architect settled in Buenos Aires. In Punta del Este where Jones Odriozolo is responsible for the replanning of the area, and he and others are building many new houses, his own work shows the influence of Wright and in this respect he is almost alone in Spanish America.

The most striking new edifice in La Habana is a nightclub, La Tropicana, designed by an architect trained at Georgia Institute of Technology and Harvard University. Aquiles Capablanca's Tribunal de Cuentas is perhaps the most satisfying of the many government office buildings of the last few years.

Younger architects are developing and talents of real consequence are maturing. Modern architecture in Latin America has its own intrinsic values. If comparison is limited to the post war years, Latin America excells Europe in both quantity and quality. At least ten Latin American architects have produced work of such distinguished individual quality that their names deserve to be as well known as those of their contemporaries any where. Modern architecture in Latin America has come of age.

Music

In the present day music of Spanish America there are two fundamental problems. One is the utilization of all modern resources for construction, melody and harmony. The other is to make use of typical materials. The first problem, happily enough, has found a solution through the medium of the study of all innovations in circulation; the second admits and receives different solutions from the old practice of transcribing, with or without adornment, archaic motives or modern ones, prior to or after the conquest. It even includes the recent procedure of inventing forms of expression that depend for support on regional character by converting local resources into elements of style which the composer works with to create independent forms more or less distant from those of popular origin.

Two composers are already well known beyond the frontiers of Spanish America. The Mexican Carlos Chávez Villalobos (b. 1879). an overflowing and robust personality, as characterized by the Spanish musicologist Adolfo Salazar, with a spontaneous hand and an agility of mind. Among his significant works are *Concierto para orquesta* (1942), which may be ranked beside Falla's *Concierto para clave.* Also among his works are the poem *Xochipilli-Maccuilxochitl,* for preconquest indigenous instruments, the ballet, *H. P.* (1932), and the *Sinfonía india* (1938).

The Cuban Joaquín Nin (b. 1879) is well known everywhere for his transcription of both old and modern popular Spanish music. He is a learned musicologist and has produced excellent editions of classical Spanish composers.

Most Spanish American composers are also good conductors. Among them, Juan José Castro and Carlos Chávez are noteworthy, the latter being known in the United States.

The twentieth century has not been as productive of pianists as the nineteenth. Some of note are the Mexican Angélica Morales, Claudio Arau and Rosita Renard of Chile, and Jesús María Sanromá of Puerto Rico. Among the singers there is the Argentine Isabel Marengo. Limitations of space do not allow a more detailed discussion of Spanish American music, but a few musical notes about some of the several republics will furnish a representative sampling.

In Argentina, one of the great figures who has combined an assimilition of European technique with a national consciousness is Alberto Williams. He is not only extraordinarily vital and a prolific producer in both instrumental and symphonic music but has been quite fertile and active in both organization and methodology. In Buenos Aires he founded the conservatory which today has a number of branches in the capital city and in the provinces. He also founded the publishing house La Quena. He has trained many students, among them his daughter Irma Williams who has toured both continents.

Among the more recent generation of composers are to be found some who have contributed to opera frequently using American themes. At the same time there has been an extraordinary development of instrumental music. Several orchestras, perhaps the best in Latin America, have contributed to a great popularity of symphonic music. Among the musicologists, Carlos Vega stands in first rank with studies in folklore; his disciple Isabel Aretz-Thiele is an indefatigable composer, and a third in this group is Josué T. Wilkes.

In Bolivia the wars for independence gave rise to many war songs originating in the Indian music. It is thought by some that the national anthem was inspired by a *huayño* from the *altiplano*. Little is known about nineteenth century music and only recently has there been a renewal of interest. There is a National Conservatory of Music in La Paz. The National Orchestra of Concerts was founded by José María Velasco Midana and held its inaugural concert on 14 March 1940. Those who introduced modern musical nationalism in Bolivia are Teófilo Vargas and Simon Roncal. The contributions to continental music by a Bolivian composer consist of piano stylizations and virtuosity of the *cuecas* and other popular forms of Simón Roncal whose charm of inspiration and wealth of rhythms along with the breadth of his piano compositions place him in an enviable rank. A later generation has been more attracted to Indian music. The way has been opened by a distinguished fan, a statesman and literary figure, José Simón Ballivián, with his interesting *Suite aymará*. Noteworthy among other popular composers are Jorge Luna, Gilberto Rojas and Julio Martínez Arteaga. The latter is the author of a number of indigenous dances such as *cuecas, bailecitos* and *huayños*.

In Colombia, the National Academy of Music was founded in 1882 by Jorge W. Price. This was the first step toward modernization and methodology in the teaching of music. It was the predecessor of the present National Conservatory of Music. It was at that time that the great Colombian concert musician, Honorio Alarcón, made his appearance. It was also the beginning of what Andrés Pardo Tovar has called "The Generation of '70." Andrés Martínez Montoya and Santos Cifuentes were the predecessors of modern Colombian musical nationalism. These and one other, Carlos Umaña Santamaría, may be classified as an interesting group of composers born between 1860 and 1870. They are similar in the traits and characteristics of their work which grows out of a more purified vision and a deeper mastery of the art. The first Colombian musician of universal caliber was born in 1880. Guillermo Uribe-Holguín, as much for the quality as for the abundance of his work, stands among the best of American composers. During nearly three decades he directed the National Conservatory and guided the destiny of the new generation. His work reflects a perfect control of technical resources, imagination and sensitivity. Around him there grew up, sometimes in opposition to him, a new generation of musicians among whom the following are outstanding: Daniel Zamudio, Jesús Bermúdez Silva, Gustavo Escobar Larrazábal, José Roso Contreras, Adolfo Mejía, Antonio María Valencia and Carlos Posada Amador. In the mastery of popular music Emilio Murillo (1880-1942) is particularly noteworthy. Meritorious work has been done by Guillermo Espinosa as the conductor of the National Symphonic Orchestra of Bogotá. The best known folklorists and musicologists are Emirto de Lima, Andrés Pardo Tovar and José Ignacio P. Escobar, this last one being the author of the first, and an excellent, history of music in his country.

The more popular musical forms in Costa Rica are the *Punto guanacasteco*, the *danza*, the *callejera* and the *pasillo*. The most popular musical instrument is the marimba which is often accompanied by guitars. The deans of modern music are Alejandro Monestel and Julio Fonseca both of whom were trained abroad. They have perfect control over the resources of their profession and are authors of compositions inspired by national themes. Other nationalist musicians include César A. Nieto (b. 1892), author of the ballet *La piedra del toxil* and of the musical *El caballero del guante gris*, and others. Trained in Berlin and Brussels, Guillermo Aguilar Machado (b. 1905) stands out as a pianist and is presently the Director of the National Conservatory of Music that was established in 1942. Also of the younger generation is Carlos Enrique Vargas, a high level composer. Other renowned writers are Alfredo Gonzales Hernández, an organist, and Raul Cabezas Duffner, a violinist. The National Symphonic Orchestra has been guided by the baton of the Uruguayan Hugo Mariani since 1940.

The Indian element has not been prominent in Cuban music while the African has inspired many worthwhile types of musical folklore, and has earned a place for itself. The morphological process of its origin and the transplantation and aculturation of African music in Cuba have been the subject of serious study in an endless number of works.

The combination of the Hispanic traditions and the Afro-Cuban forms of today owes its first descriptive synthesis to Emilio Grenet. The liturgical music and musicians of the early nineteenth century gave way to European models which were interrupted by the visit of an Italian opera company in 1839. During the following decades there arose a group of virtuosos, composers and teachers who initiated Cuban musical nationalism. It is in this mode that the violinists José White and Brindis de Salas acquire universal fame. While Nicolás Ruiz Espadero wrote his famous *El canto del esclavo* for the piano, the pianists Manuel Soumell and Ignacio Cervantes triumph with their creations for the same instrument. As a type for the piano in the field of the *danza* and the *contradanza*, Eduardo

Sánchez de Fuentes' *Habanera Tú* became famous. It proved to be the first Cuban composition to know no national boundaries and to spread far and wide to proclaim the authority of Cuba's most legitimate expression. Others who carried this movement to its deserved apogee are Amadeo Roldán and Alejandro García Caturla.

The new generation rallied around José Ardéval as a Musical Rennovation Movement, a group of composers who, following their leader, developed a cosmopolitan and neo-classic style. This now seems to be returning to a new consciousness of the national roots of each great universal art as it follows the leadership of Ardéval. They are returning to the kind of music made so popular by earlier musicians as Amadeo Roldán and Alejandro García Caturla.

Among the Cuban women musicians there are Gisela Hernández of fluctuating talent, Virginia Fleites and Esther Rodríguez. Juan Antonio Cámara and Serafín Pro must be included among the pianists. The principal musical organizations in Cuba are the Orquesta Sinfónica de La Habana, the excellent Sociedad Coral de La Habana, La Banda Municipal, La Orquesta de Cámara de La Habana. There are many private academies and institutes the most important being the Conservatorio Municipal de Música de La Habana.

The first Chilean figure of universal stature and fertile production, although somewhat conventional style, is Enrique Soro. A year later comes Alberto Allende, the initiator of musical nationalism in his country and the teacher of new generations. With him is also Carlos Isamitt whose interesting composition is profoundly influenced by his studies in folklore among the Araucanian Indians. An orchestral style is the forte of Próspero Bisquertt and Alfonso Leng whose works show a post-romantic coloring. At the same time Arcadio Cotapos (b. 1889) experimented with orchestra parts in new harmonic and thematic combinations. The predominant figure in modern Chilean music is Domingo Santos Cruz, a man of extraordinary capacity for work imbued, as an organizer and a musician, with the technique and the spirit of our times. His tenacious efforts have resulted in a model organization of Chilean musical life guided and fostered by state incentive. Lately, he has been turning somewhat to national inspiration. Carlos Lavín represents the influence of Arnold Schoenberg combined with an Indo-Chilean inspiration. Samuel Negrete, Pedro Núnez Navarette and Héctor Melo are making effective use of criollo themes and rhythms. Among the younger musicians there are René Amengud and Jorge Urutia who show promise in their mastery of technique. Pablo Garrido is a folklorist of great dedication. The Chilean symphonic orchestra is guided by the baton of Armando Carvajal (b. 1893), and the outstanding musical historian is Eugenio Pereira Salas. The most iminent concert pianist is Claudio Arrau.

Between 1900 and 1930 the Dominican Republic has concentrated its musical activities on multiple although isolated manifestations destined to consolidate present activities. The narrative poets of the early years of the century constitute the most abundant manifestation of romance and *criollismo*. The window of the object of one's affections, bedecked with the reddest and most fragrant carnations in the dawn of classical old Santo Domingo was witness to many aspirations, to silent lovers' quarrels guilded with the song of guitars, now with the verses of poets, later with the unforgettable serenade, to soften the heart of the one who was to be won with art and wit.

The *juangomero*, with its accompanying accordion, saxophone and guitar combined with the *guira* and the *bongo*, makes up a resounding, articulated and extremely national *criollismo*.

Rodríguez Arreson founded the academy of music which provides the country with its best instrumentalists such as Puyans, a flutist of international repute. José Ovidio García performed miracles in Santiago de los Caballeros and developed a philharmonic group that gives excellent programs. The National Symphonic Orchestra was created in 1940 and, somewhat later, the Liceo Musical, which for so many years had been directed by one of the most prestigious teachers, José de Jesús Ravelo, was converted into the National Conservatory of Music and Declamation.

A Spanish musician, Enrique Casal Chapí, has trained three contemporary top-flight composers, Manuel Simó the youngest, specializes in chamber music; Captain José Dolores Cerón, a young Negro teacher, is the author of the symphonic poem *Enriquillo;* and Ninón Lapeireta de Brower, though of a restless nature, is the Republic's first woman composer today. Among the younger generation, all more or less influenced by Chapí, there are among others, Enrique de Marchena, a brilliant organizer, folklorist and excellent musician who is the Director General of Fine Arts.

Nowhere in Spanish America during the four centuries since the conquest has the wealth of aboriginal music been so well preserved with such integrity as in Ecuador. In the eastern and inter-Andean regions, the primitive music, dance and instruments remain almost intact with origins back in the distant misty past. Among the older instruments there are the *paruntzi*, on which the *sanjuanito* is played, and various types of the *bocina*, the *churu* or *quipa*, sea snail and the *chil-chil* or small bells. The *rondador*, Peter Pan pipes made of bamboo, may or may not be indigenous.

The first Ecuadorean school of music was founded in 1810. Later the government contracted with a violinist in 1838, Alejandro Sejers, to establish a school of music in the capital city. In March of 1870 Gabriel García Moreno established the National Conservatory of Music in Quito which was on the brink of disaster until 1903 when a Chilean director gave it life and purpose with a resulting positive effect upon Ecuadorean music. There are other institutes of music, especially one in Guayaquil whose founder, Angel Negri, subsequently organized a symphony orchestra.

Since 1945 all cultural activities in Quito are the responsibility of the government sponsored Casa de la Cultura. This agency has its own large library, radio station, press and other facilities with a branch in the port city of Guayaquil.

In Guatemala the most popular musical instrument is the *Marimba* which is also the preferred instrument for playing the *son chapí*. This instrument, built in a form much like that of the xylophone except that it is made of wood, may be as much as nine feet long, and several of different sizes may be played together as a band. Many traditional Indian instruments have been preserved. To European ears the Indian music sounds sometimes plaintive and lugubrious, at others strident and disorderly. During the colonial period, Guatemala boasted an organ maker, Julián López, and music began to grow in importance in religious matters. Music schools sprang up and gave an additional stimulus to the art. During the nineteenth century a taste for Italian opera music was prevalent and opera companies made occasional appearances. In 1939, a position similar to that of Director General of Martial Music was filled by a German, Franz Ippisch (b. 1883), an Austrian composer who wrote a *Sinfonía guatemalteco* which had its premiere in 1941 with the Orquesta Progresista. In the same period the Conservatorio Nacional de Música was founded. The first national musician, trained in Italy, was Luis Felipe Arias (1876-1908). In the meantime musical nationalism was taking root and had its most representative interpreter in Jesús Castello. In recent years, the Orquesta Progresista de Guatemala has been performing and, finally, the Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional was founded.

After almost total neglect and disorder in Honduras, Francisco R. Díaz Zelaya was appointed by President Carías to direct the Banda de los Supremos Poderas (the national military band) which position he still holds. Numerous small musical troupes have visited the capital city as well as some virtuosos of piano and violin, yet no interest has been awakened in instrumental solos. However, Bogumil Sykora was welcomed enthusiastically. Probably the only virtuoso of of Honduras is Humberto Cano who studied the violin in Italy. There is a new generation which includes Doña Guadalupe V. de Haertling, widow of the teacher, Carlos Haertling, who wrote the national anthem. Later composers devote themselves to the composition of salon and religious music.

Skipping over the colonial period in México and the indigenous origins of music which have already been dealt with to some extent, the first great musical figure is Manuel M. Ponce. He has the distinction of having based a large part of his prolific work on the popular music of his country. His works, showing an increasing breadth and harmonious density, include his songs and his *Rapsodias mexicanas*, the *Tríptico sinfónico, Chapultepec*, the symphonic diversion *Ferial* and his important concerto for the violin and orchestra. With these last works the nationalist tendency was established definitively as representative of modern Mexican music.

Candelaria Huizar, profoundly romantic, has written many symphonic poems of great color. José Rablón accomplished passages of great pathos, powerful rhythmic accumulations and, at the same time, severe contrapuntal writing, especially in his later manner. Under the influence of the ideals of the Revolution of 1910, the two most notable figures make their appearance and raise Mexican music to the higher ranks of the times. Eduardo Hernández Moncada with his two *Sinfonías*, gives promise among the younger generation, of a developing talent. Present musical folklore—sentimental and ranch songs such as the *huapango*, the *corrido* and the *sandunga* — have inspired a number of composers. Among them are Manuel M. Ponce, Alfonso Esparza Oteo, Mario Talavera, Tata Nacho, and among still younger ones is Manuel Esperón who works in the dance type of orchestration, is of the first order and author of many popular melodies for Mexican films. Agustín Lara has been followed by many of the younger generation. The Symphonic Orchestra and the National Opera take turns furnishing four months each of entertainment in the Palace of Fine Arts in Mexico City with first rank singers and conductors. Musical training is limited to the few piano academies, the School of Music of the National University and the National Conservatory of Music. Church music is centered principally in Morelia with Miguel Bernal.

The only composer known outside of Nicaragua is Luis A. Delgadillo who has collected many popular and indigenous melodies which he has used in his nationalistic work. Another musician, who for many years has been living in Honduras, is Ramón Luis Vilches. Among composers of salon music, Alejandro Veta Matus and José Cruz are outstanding with their popular waltzes. Among the more recent generation there is F. J. Rosales.

Among Panamanian composers there are Carlos Arias Quinteros, Herbert de Castro (b. 1906 in Panama), Roque Cordero (b. 1917 in Panama), Ricardo Fábriga (b. 1905 in Santiago de Veraguas); Alberto Galimany, Director of the Banda Republicana; Walter Myers, Director of the National Symphonic Orchestra, and Pedro Rebolledo. The violinist, Alfredo de Saint-Malo has been the Director of the National Conservatory of Music and Declamation since its founding in 1941. It publishes an official organ titled *Armonía.*

In Paraguay, during the past century one of the outstanding composers of salon music was Julián Atirahu while the polka and the *galopa* were being naturalized in the country. The Paraguayan song *purajhei* was born at this time and one of the most notable composers, José Asunción Flores, created the *guarania*, a ballad in a slow waltzy movement, generally in a minor key which he applied to all kinds of musical types. Other meritorious composers are Herminio Giménez, Director of the Normal School of Music in Asunción, and Juan Carlos Moreno Gonzalez, Director of the Conservatory of Music.

The great wealth of indigenous music, the pentaphonic scale, the multitude of instruments and their influence on colonial music in Peru may be likened to that of Ecuador and Bolivia but cannot be treated here. The principal figures in romantic nationalism were José María Valle Riestra, author of *Ollantay* (1900), the first opera written by a Peruvian on a national subject after the one titled *Atahualpa* (1877), and the musical comedy *Pobre Indio*, both by the Italian Carlos Enrique Pasta; another Italian master, Claudio Rabagliati who wrote an interesting *Rapsodia Peruana;* and Luis Duncker Lavalle, author of the famous waltz *Quenas*. Daniel Alomía Robles is the first folklorist, has a great style and is the leader of a generation of composers among whom are Federico Gerdes, Vicente Stea and Manuel Aguirre followed by Pablo Chávez Aguilar, Luis Pacheco, Francisco González Camorra, Ernesto López Mindreau, Carlos Valderrama, Alberto Rivaroli, Alberto Carpio, Carlos Sánchez Málaga, and Ulises Tamayo de la Haza.

Rodolfo Holzmann, a well trained musician, has been a scrupulous researcher in the history of Peruvian music. The principal folklorists are Rosa Mercedes Ayarza de Morales, Policarpio Caballero Farfán and André Sas. The latter is also one of the main modern Peruvian composers. First place among the critics goes to Carlos Raygada. The most representative musical organization of the country is the National Symphonic Orchestra under the direction of Theo Buchwald. The center of musical training is the National Conservatory of Music which publishes a *Boletín*.

In El Salvador, as in other countries, music had its indigenous origins and went through the liturgical phase when it was used in teaching Christianity to the Indians. From that era dates a play of sorts titled *Moros y cristianos* which had a widespread vogue and has even been staged in the United States, in the State of New Mexico. The history of modern music in El Salvador begins late in the nineteenth century with the founding of the first martial band. The Father of music in the Republic is a Guatemalan, José Escolástico Andrino, who enlivened all branches of music. As teacher and founder of the first school of music he trained an entire generation of Salvadorean musicians. A Philharmonic Society was organized in 1875 which for some time supported a symphonic orchestra. Another popular organization was the Sociedad Orquestral Salvadoreña which was under the direction of the Italian Antonio Gianola. Many travelling companies from Italy, Mexico and Spain presented musical comedies and lyrico-dramatic works. The first showing of a musical comedy, *Adela*, by a Salvadorean, Wenceslao García, took place in 1917. The same composer produced *Las fiestas de Candelaria*, a musical comedy, the serenade *Athahuanca* (1942), and *Rapsodia cuzcatleca* titled *Pizlintec*. Rafael Olmedo, Miguel Pinto and Ciriaco de Jesús Alas all belong to the generation and have produced salon, religious and band music. Maria M. de Baralta is an outstanding musician interested in indigenous themes and has undertaken serious studies of musical folklore that have resulted in the establishment of the Committee for Research in National Folklore and Typical Salvadorean Art over which she presides. Humberto Pacas is Director of symphonic music and Alejandro Munoz Ciudad Real is the Director of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes. The younger generation includes such musicians as Vicente Avilés, Raul Ayala Bonilla, Juan Francisco Amaya, Daniel García, José Napoleón Rodríguez, Francisco López Navarro, Cecilio Orellana and José Antonio Siliézar.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century in Uruguay, Luis Sambucetti (1860-1926) and León Ribero (1854-1931) were the abundant composers of operatic and symphonic music. Little is known of the history of music in this country prior to this time. The modern school of markedly nationalistic music begins with Alfonso Broqua and Carlos Pedrell who were followed by Eduardo Fabini, the greatest musical figure in his country. Other notable figures at the end of the nineteenth century are Vicente Ascone, Carmen Barrodas, Luis Cluzeau Mortet, Domingo Dente, Pedro M. Mascaró and Ramón Rodríguez Socás. The two outstanding figures of the newer generation are Carlos Estrada and Héctor Tosar Errecart who depart from the nationalistic trend and adopt the modern European style of composition.

Among the instrumentalists, Dalmiro Costa and Virgilio Scarabelli are outstanding. Doña María Vinent de Müller, as an organizer and concert player, turns out a great number of works. The first line figures among musicologists and critics are Lauro Ayestarán and Roberto E. Lagarmilla, the latter being also a composer. The Italian, Lomberto Baldi, has for many years directed the O.S.S.O.D.R.E., the representative symphonic organization of the Republic. Among important musical institutions is the Department of Musical Research of the Institute of Higher Studies in Montevideo which publishes the *Boletín Latinoamericano* de Música, and the Instituto Interamericano de Musicología which publishes a valuable series of musical notebooks. Both of these institutions are under the direction of Francisco Curt Lange. In the folklore field the traditional Negro celebrations and the criollo music such as the *triste*, the *milonga*, the *tango*, the *pericón* and others are worthy of mention.

After the first stage of liturgical music in Venezuela, it turned to salon or chamber music as happened in so many Latin American countries. Then it went through a banal stage of producing only simple melodies for the popular taste losing all concept of the possibilities that lay dormant. Then came the romantic period which by far surpassed all previous activity and earned a more deserved and genuine public support, but the art is still not up to the general level.

In the present century, the two outstanding composers are Vicente Emilio Sojo and Juan Bautista Plaza. They have a common interest in their close connection with the church and an interest in the popular music of their country. Both have produced an abundance of religious music besides a wealth of songs in a fluid post-romantic style. The latter has also collected and harmonized popular melodies of considerable folklore interest. This popular tendency turned into nationalism in the case of Juan Plaza with a conscious modern orientation. He wrote a *Sonatina venezolana* for the piano and a *Fuga criolla* for the string quartet. As a musicologist, Plaza has carried out one of the most important research projects in the history of music on the continent.

Among the newer generation are to found Juan Lecuna with a vigorous modern nationalism and María Luisa Escobar, composer of the ballet *Orquídeas azules;* José Antonio Calcaño with his excellent study of Venezuelan music; Eduardo Plaza; Moisés Moleiro; José Antonio Estévez, Angel Sauce and Evencio Castellanos.

Dance

Though best known for its contemporary ballroom stylings, the dance in Latin America actually comprises the hundreds of ritual ceremonies and folk dances which are current in the several independent republics. In general, three principal racial groups have contributed their music, instruments, rhythms and dance to make up what is known as Latin American dance: the Indians, the indigenous race of the entire area; the Spaniards and the Portuguese, who introduced European traditions and culture; and the Negroes who were imported as slaves. The latter have had the greatest influence on international rhythm and dance in recent times.

In pre-Columbian times all Indians, civilized Aztecs, Mayas and Incas, primitive Caribs and Arawaks — had in common a reverence for both the dance and music which formed an integral part of their daily life. Dance and music were closely associated with religion and general participation in the ritual dance was a part of the outward expression of religious belief. Many such ritual dances were performed in honor of the sun god or the serpent deity, both of great importance in the religious hierarchy. People of all ages danced. Besides being an essential part of religion, the dance was a physical outlet and a means of social intercourse — it was used to celebrate secular festivities and formed a ritualistic prelude to war.

The conquering Spaniards were a people who put great emphasis on the dance both as an art and as recreation. Their tradition of dance found ready acceptance among the indigenous population, and the intricate rhythms and melodies of Spain fitted in perfectly with the Indian concept of dance, The combination of Indian and Spanish dance forms is readily observed in such dances as the *járave tapatío*, in Mexico, the Venezuelan *joropo*, the Chilean *cueca* and the Peruvian *marinera*, to name only a few of the dances which use a form of the *zapateado* step, involving the rapid beating of heel and toe typical of Spanish flamenco dances. Other popular criollo dances found, for example, in Argentina include the *cielo*, *cielito*, the *chacarera*, the *gato*. *media*, *caña*, *pericón*, *resbalosa*, *triunfo*, *vidala* and the *vidalita*. The interested reader may also want to look into the following: *bordoneo*, *candombe*, *chagango*, *china*, *cifra*, *guachambera*, *guitara*, *hueya*, *malambo*, *mariquita*, *milonga*, *minué*, *montonero*, *mis*, *morote*, *palito*, *paya*, *payador*, *tango*, *triste*, *telesita*, *templar por el tres*, *tonadilla* and the *zamacueca*.

Although the Spanish forms of dance and music were introduced and adapted, many older dances remained and fitted themselves into the religion and customs of the conquerors. Christian holidays and celebrations were marked by performances of dances previously devoted to pagan gods. This adaptation of pagan rites to fit the observances of the Roman Catholic Church is typical of many regions of Spanish America, but some of the indigenous dances may still be seen almost as they existed before the coming of the Spaniards — dances such as the Oaxaca Plume Dance of Mexico, still found among some of the Indians of the United States, the *Danza del Dios Inti* of Bolivia, and many others of this type found principally among the Andean Indians of Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. Some examples from Peru include the *Kashua*, *huaylli*, *llamamiches* (or *llamish*), the *taqui* of the *llameros*, the *guacón* done with masks, *huayño*, *huanca*, the *yaraví* and perhaps some thirty others. Among the criollo dances of Peru, besides those already mentioned, there are the *cajón*, the *tondero*, and others.

The few Indian dances of El Salvador include such types as the *areitos* and *mitotes*. In Uruguay there are to be found dances that have been mentioned elsewhere, particularly in connection with Argentina.

The introduction of thousands of African slaves, especially in the West Indies, was vitally important in the development of modern Spanish American music and dance. The African religion was similar in many respects to the polytheistic belief of the Indians (and the saintly hierarchy of the Church). The Africans also used the dance to express their religious philosophy in ceremonial ritual. Like the Indians, the Africans were quick to imitate and incorporate Iberian forms into their own music and dance. The African contributed his own drum rhythms, which are among the most varied and complicated known, and added a new concept of body movement to the existing dance. It involves a fluidity of motion which requires the use of the entire body rather than the feet alone to interpret and express emotion and ideas.

Pure African dance, as seen in the seventeenth century, can be found today among the buck Negroes of the Guianas of South America, next door to Venezuela. Here the descendants of escaped slaves have retained their original religion and customs. A nearly pure African form can be found in the ritual dances which make up the Haitian Voodoo religion, the Obeah ceremonies of Jamaica, and the dances of the shango cults of Trinidad.

Of all the dances of Spanish America, those best known to the outside world are the ones that have come from Cuba. Out of a mixture of Indian *areitas* and Spanish *Habaneras*, *jotas* and *fandangos* combined with African rhythms and stylings, have developed the *rumba*, the *conga* and, later, the *mambo*. From Argentina has come the Tango, the closest to the pure Spanish tradition. Many of the other ballroom rhythms danced in Spanish America have an equal potential for universal popularity, including the *plena* of Puerto Rico, the *joropo* of Venezuela and the *merengue*. The *juangomero*, accompanied by the saxophone, guitar, *guira* and *bongo*, is a truly criollo and national form. The dance in the Dominican Republic also includes the *yucas*, the *zapateado*, *montuno*, the *sarambo*, and even a typical *bolero* quite different from the Cuban version. The *bolero* is the equivalent of the Bolivian *yaraví* which is a traditional song among the Inca peoples, while the *bambuco* is from Colombia. In Ecuador there is the very popular *sanjuanito*, the *danzante* performed by the Indians disguised as priests, while the *yaraví* is popular here too.

From the English speaking islands of Trinidad, Jamaica and Antigua have come the song, the rhythm and the dance of the calypso, the closet in style to the dance of the Negroes of the United States. From these islands has also come the modern musical phenomenon of the steel bands which play on collections of old garbage cans or used oil drums and can produce any melody from a calypso or a mambo to a hymn. The evolution of dance and music in the Latin American region is characteristic of the development of the new tradition and the changing culture which is taking form there.

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Chapter XIII

Ethics And Linguistic Usage

Ethical Norms

The literature of Spanish America, although extremely important and the most voluminous art in the region, cannot be included here. especially since there are several good histories written by able and well qualified authorities and critics. Let it be understood from the outset, however, that of all the artistic outpourings of these countries, literature, and especially poetry, ranks first in quantity and quality, while music comes second, and studies of a varied legal, linguistic and philosophical nature follow. The tremendous increase in the field of scientific thought has already been mentioned with bibliographical listings in Spanish now outnumbering those in French. At the same time we have seen everywhere that there is great interest in all forms of art and in all artistic forms. The interest lies in form almost to the point of excluding content or application. Every undertaking must be completed with the culminating finishing touch or, as it is called in Spanish, *el broche de oro* (the golden stroke). This passion for beauty, for perfection of form, has far-reaching and sometimes surprising effects. In reality it amounts to a controlling force, a norm or a standard, in many aspects of life — a most interesting and charming trait.

The appearance of the innate artistic sense has already been pointed out in connection with home construction, cleanliness and decoration, even in the lowliest of poverty stricken circumstances. In matters of cleanliness, if a bar of soap is economically out of reach, the root of the *amole* plant can easily be dug up and serves as well as or better than the modern product. It does not stop here, but before delving further into the matter of art and ethics, let us diverge again momentarily for some additional background information.

One who has had occasion to study and compare the educational systems, and therefore the cultures, of several countries will have been impressed by the differences in educational objectives. These, quite obviously, arise from the differences in cultural values and social aspiration that are considered important in each civilization. These values are the principles, customs, traditions and both conscious and unconscious attitudes, ways of life and philosophy for which a people stand and for which they stand ready to fight at the drop of a *sombrero*. These are the ideals which the people wish to preserve and perpetuate at all costs, that are imbided with the mother's milk, that are unconsciously inculcated by the family breeding. In its self-conscious eagerness to perpetuate and improve upon its ideals, a society is willing to expend considerable sums, but it may be selective in its choice of class or caste that is to be educated for these purposes. It appears that in some countries certain classes are not considered worthy of educating, that they are not capable of perpetuating the prized values of the society. Instead, they must do the work required to support those who are worthy, capable and have the opportunity of profiting from the educational process. Regardless of their altruism, foreign aid programs seldom meddle with family life excepting, perhaps, an occasional brazen social worker. But there is no lack of those who think they can improve upon the national education system which, in sensitivity, ranks second to family life only. This they are willing and eager to do without even the barest command of the national language which effectively blocks an understanding of the people and their society. They also cut themselves off, linguistically, from the slightest comprehension of the different cultural values, the centuries old philosophical outlook on life and all other values and standards. Under these circumstances it is virtually impossible to understand the meaning of knowledge and its application, the purpose of science, the nature and purpose of man and his responsibilities in life and society as seen and understood by these people. Translations and interpreters are to no avail because, in their courtesy, they tell the foreigner what they think he wants to hear. In these circumstances we are also dealing with those factors whose interplay and reciprocal action form and inform both personality and culture, and that are the result of and give form to family life and the educational system. These in turn control the integration of all other aspects of national life so that we have now come full circle. With this reminder or orientation we may now return to the role played by the powerful and innate artistic sense in the Spanish American that has been developing over the many centuries since the early Iberians. We now have a basis on which to determine the values, attitudes and standards that are the informing principles of the culture under study. We may begin, then, with a simple and easily isolated factor, such as form, which by the same token will serve as a point of departure from which to suggest some other aspects.

In preceding pages it has been suggested that interest in form manifests itself especially in language, notably in prose and poetry. The concern is not much with content, testimony to which Ruben Darío's *Azul* is the example par excellence, not to mention many another poet. The concern is not with what is to be said nor how to apply it. It will be remembered that the development of a vocational education program was concerned only with the form in which it was written and the same was true in the case of the organic education law in another country. There was no concern for the empirical content, for the fashioning of a course of study adequate to the needs of the country. So long as a polished piece of writing is prepared in proper form so as to make a respectable presentation complimentary to the authors, it matters not whether the content, the curriculum, the constitution fits the practical, urgent needs of the nation. The carefully written, edited and re-edited, printed law published in the official gazette with the names of the creators — and it usually is a creative work — is the important element. It must magnify the personalities involved. The underlying idea, the practical purpose, the tangible national welfare are as nothing.

In a more general sense, language must be used in well rounded periods, without repetition of words, and must have an esthetic, and harmonious appeal to the ear. Recitations and readings in public are still in vogue and attract large crowds, even in such an advanced nation under such strong influence from the United States as Mexico. Such qualifications do not necessarily, but in practice usually do, ignore the content which is seldom of much interest any way. By esthetic standards, a speech that is easily understood is not good and, conversely, the more polished and euphonious, regardless of whether it is understood, the greater the applause. The purpose of public speeches is not to convince with an array of facts, but to sway the audience emotionally so that it will believe the speaker. Since the audience is predisposed by the Messianic attitude to follow a leader, facts are not necessary — only a convincing emotional appeal combined with a mesmeric eye. Consequently, such oft repeated statements as "after a profound study in great detail," usually means "my idea is that. . . ." Hence, much effort is expended on polishing a piece for publication regardless of the validity of the content. A doctoral dissertation was found to contain the opening statement, "Since there is no information on the labor movement in the United States we begin with local conditions." This in spite of the well-stocked United States library not many blocks away in the same city. Fortunately, as indicated previously, scientific works of all kinds have taken a complete turn for the better. Also, much scientific and literary work is being done and always has, occasionally it gets ahead of modern trends.

This interest in form and beauty has been in evidence since the discovery of the paintings on the cave walls near Altamira and the discovery of *la Dama de Elche*, since the era before the Moorish conquest when Iberians invariably gave a characteristic touch to the finish of every product they turned out regardless of whether the art was native or imported. It has had its outstanding manifestations in the works of such renowned personalities as Goya, El Greco, Velásquez, Cervantes, in the famous swords from Toledo, in the beautifully artistic homes of Seville, Madrid, Cádiz and later in the New World. The excellent and artistic craftsmanship in carving, casting, molding, painting, church architecture and interior decoration, the architectural beauty of public buildings and monuments, city parks, cemeteries, airports, residences, all are examples in Spanish America. In most cases, such manifestations may be taken as the normal expression of the civilization of a people. But here again, as in the case of personality, there is an abnormal outpouring of artistic expression without a counter-balance, such that it cannot be dismissed as a normal trait. Rather, it is outstanding among cultures, almost an obsession, in fact so much so that the serious student is eventually impressed with the probability that it serves some underlying and hitherto unsuspected purpose. This impression eventually develops to the point of becoming a belief that the seeming exaggerated interest is not an obsession, an hyperesthetic sense, but that it serves as a guide, a norm, a standard.

At first blush this may seem something of a contradiction in terminology, or perhaps incongrous, but it resolves itself quickly with the realization that it is applied in two simple ways, i.e., first of all it is a norm for conduct which is either esthetic, becoming or "beautiful," if you will, or else it is the contrary, i.e., ugly. Secondly, this concept must be placed in proper perspective in relation to personality. When the sole purpose in life is *being*, as was set forth in a previous chapter, and that purpose has as its aim a closer communion with God, the personality will naturally abhor all that is ugly, for to the extent that it is ugly it separates one from the All Perfect God. Moreover, to one whose life is centered in interpersonal relationships, nothing may be allowed to mar the beauty of those relationships, since after all, this is one of the principal channels through which the personality may be magnified. An anecdote may help to clarify and reinforce the meaning intended here.

An Anglo passenger may be rushing to the airport in one of the other American republics to catch his plane. He meets a Spanish American friend at the entrance and asks whether the plane has left. The friend assures him that it has not. It is only a matter of minutes until the passenger learns, to his dismay, that the plane departed some fifteen minutes ago and the friend knew it. The latter, however, was not willing to be the bearer of bad news — he did not want to spoil the beauty of the situation, i.e., the passenger catching his plane. He would not be guilty of bringing disappointment to his friend.

On the higher level of international affairs, misconduct is not "bad," it is ugly. An illustration may be taken from the Hopi Indian culture in which the mother does not chastise her little son for misbehaving, for "being bad." In her soft voice she gently tells him, "No, no, that is not the Hopi way." Anything that fails to magnify the personality is not Spanish American, it is ugly, therefore, any kind of misconduct is ugly. On the other hand, any gesture, whether artistic, heroic, one of self-abnegation or sacrifice, the accomplishment of an extraordinary feat (e.g., the conquistadores), the production and publication of a fine piece of polished writing (regardless of content or possible application), such as poetry, a constitution, organic or vocational education laws, a painting, a sculpture, all are beautiful because they magnify the personality if for no other reason. Hence, the final goal, whether Anglo or Spanish American, is identical. The divergent ways, the differing roads taken to reach the same destination, this is what must be recognized if one is to understand and enjoy these wonderful, hospitable people. They want to keep the "Hot Line" open as a clear channel for direct communion with God. In so far as it is humanly possible to prevent it, they will allow no ugly conduct to create static in this channel. One additional anecdote from a real life situation will serve to demonstrate the lengths to which they will go to preserve the beauty of the situation.

A young man presented himself to the United States Consul in his country and applied for a student visa so that he might enter an institution of higher education. Since each independent nation considers it a privilege for a foreigner to be allowed to enter, the young man in question was granted this privilege under certain conditions. Among others he was required to guarantee that he would not become a public charge nor would he get married. He agreed to all conditions, was granted the visa, took leave from his parents and happily travelled to the United States.

For the sake of convenience, this young man will be referred to as Juan. He became duly registered at an accredited institution to learn English, established his immigrant status and began attending classes. It was not long, however, until Juan became involved with a young lady and between this emotional involvement and his none too diligent attendance in class, the time for his return home did not seem to arrive. In fact, it was not many months until, according to rumor, he and the girl were married, visa requirements to the contrary notwithstanding.

Unfortunately for Juan, the United States Immigration Inspector soon appeared and, among other routine duties, asked Juan whether he was married. The Inspector accepted Juan's negative reply and went his way.

The months rolled by and it was nearly a year later when the same Immigration Inspector appeared again. This time he confronted Juan with the fact of his marriage adding the accusation that Juan had lied to him the year before. Juan admitted his marriage readily enough but denied the falsehood. Taken aback, the Inspector demanded an explanation. Juan argued that if he had admitted the marriage his father would have learned of it. Being subject to a very acute heart ailment, the news of his son's marriage might have caused his death. To avoid this extremely ugly situation, Juan simply prevented his father from acquiring information, an act which, in reality, would harm no one while sparing his father's life thus preserving the beauty of the situation. Hence, his conduct was not only correct but beautiful inasmuch as it spared a life. It is not infrequent that Anglos perform the same type of action for far less valid reasons, e.g., complimenting the boring speaker, flattering a dowdy dress or hat, using a *double entendre*, etc.

The Anglo's idea of integrity may, perhaps, be briefly summarized in the words honesty, truthfulness, with etiquette and conduct according to Amy Vanderbilt. Included are the ideas implied by Abraham Lincoln's three-mile walk to return three pennies of excess change, George Washington's refusal to tell a lie, the adage "a man's word is as good as his bond," etc. In other words, the well-bred, cultured, refined lady or gentleman of the United States will always do and say the right thing at the right time and in the right way, because he is educated, a person of integrity and, in short, is dependable, i.e., he will never embarass any one. The fact of the matter is that some writers have used similar words to define the educated person.

The Spanish American arrives at exactly the same destination, albeit by a different road which, as indicated above, is the cuase of frequent misunderstanding and confusion. To foreigners, especially to Puritannical Anglos, it is surprising if not downright disappointing and at times even shocking. It requires time to realize that in the end the same goal is reached.

Anglos frequently and purposefully avoid embarassing others to the extent of omitting facts — which, in reality, is dishonest if not outright lying — simply because they do not wish to injure the sensitivity of others. Is this not preserving the beauty of the situation? It is to the Spanish American. He will not be the bearer of bad news, he will not inconvenience or disappoint his friend, not even the casual contact. He will not say no but rather refuse to answer or find an indirect way around the question. He will sometimes say yes, if no would be disagreeable, but before he finishes talking it becomes crystal clear that he is speaking negatively. He will not laught *at* any one unless it is in humor or in generic ridicule of a common enemy or in common scorn of an object or type. He does, however, enjoy laughing *with* any and every one. The foreigner or tourist who feels insulted because he hears Spanish Americans speaking their mother tongue (why should they speak anything else, Anglos do not) and laughing hilariously is either extremely conceited or incurably self-conscious. The Spanish American has far more interesting and important things to talk and laugh about. The accidently present Anglo is not the only possible subject of conversation and, in fact, he would do well to try learning a little mother tongue himself, i.e., the Spanish American's mother tongue — English is no longer the official language. While on the subject of laughing with the Spanish American, it is well to keep in mind certain "peculiar" behavior, particularly on the part of the mestizo.

It will be recalled that because of his bifurcated biological heritage, the down-grading of the indigenous heritage and his rejection by the dominant white classes to which he longs to belong, the mestizo has developed a serious "inferiority complex." It manifests itself now by bragging and boasting, now by exaggerating the masculine element and by an overbearing attitude, now by subservience and humility, and again by obsequiousness. Add to this the centuries-old tradition and attitude of trying to outwit the system, or the law and its representative, as set forth in Chapter II, and the "peculiar" situation arises. It will be recalled that the greater the achievement in outwitting the written law, the greater the public applause. Conversely, the failure to "get away with it" brings sympathy from his fellow countrymen and embarassment to himself. In fact, if he does not succeed he feels that not only has he "lost face," but he has now been lowered to the level of the indigenous half of his origin with the consequent loss of self-respect which, in turn, is the cause of a violent reaction. This would be ugly conduct to which he would not care to descend, therefore, any way out of what could so easily become a most embarassing situation is a source of great relief and can be turned to considerable advantage. Perhaps an anecdote related by a colleague will throw light on this psychological puzzle.

An English professor and her mother were travelling recently in Mexico by car. Neither one could speak Spanish, but the innate courtesy and hospitality of Mexicans made their trip quite enjoyable. Only on quite rare occasions was there an attempt to take advantage of the lack of a command of the Spanish language. One of these occasions was prompted by the purchase of gasoline at a road-side service station. The attendant did not return the correct change, having held out more than was due. The driving colleague simply displayed the change in the right hand, held the left out through the car window — and laughed. The attendant immediately returned the remainder of the change — and laughed. No one had been belittled, no one had lost respect or face, both were happy and the colleague drove merrily on her way. The result, however, could have been quite different with a slight variation in the attendant circumstances. As it turned out, the beauty of the situation was preserved.

Had the driver frowned, shouted vituperation and otherwise made known her displeasure or anger, the mestizo attendant would immediately have lost face for he would then have seen himself as playing the role of the dispised subservient native with all the stigma that can be attached to it. He would have felt humilliatingly downgraded and his aboriginal heritage would have come to the surface with the consequent violent reaction. Instead, they had laughed together thus establishing a status of equality, which is flattering, and thereby paved the road to amicable relationships and a most friendly resolution of the problem. The attendant is now a life-long friend.

At this point, and however unrelated it may appear at first glance, there is an important psycho-linguistic aspect that may offer suggestions of an interesting nature. The Mexican actor Cantinflas is known to Anglos for his movie acting. Unfortunately, this most popular comic actor, in Mexico, was entirely out of his element in an American movie and did not receive proper recognition. His real name is Mario Moreno and his forte is principally language, as is true of some Anglo dialect writers and even radio and television comedians. The old saying, allegedly Italian, that a translation is like a woman: if interesting, unfaithful; if faithful, uninteresting; or more literally, a translator is a traitor is applicable. Cantinflas could not be translated either spiritually or linguistically, faithfully or otherwise. A possible explanation is suggested in the description of a certain class of Mexican found principally in Mexico City, but by no means limited to this circumscribed area. Echánove Trujillo in his *Aspectos sociológicos de nuestro tiempo* describes this class which he says was first called the *lepero* but today is known as the *pelado*, a vividly descriptive term used rather frequently and appropriately in any class of society.

The *pelado* is depicted as being at one and the same time, cowardly and brave, peaceful and belligerent, fanatical and unbelieving, fearing nothing but God and Him only enough to escape the clutches of the Devil. An eternal gambler, characteristically a mischief-maker, of a sobriety that can be compared only with the intemperance in which he occasionally indulges, he is an expert at adjusting his laziness or his ingenuity to all of life's situations. A thief by instinct and by preference, he is prodigal when the proud professor of a few cents, yet no less resigned and contented in times of want. If this morning he earns enough for the needs of the day he immediately and happily abandons his work and therefore often lacks the bare necessities. Nontheless nonchalant with no fear of thieves, he stretches out in his threadbare blanket on a doorstep or a park bench. He breakfasts on a ray of sunlight, tightens his belt another notch, dines on a cigarette, and sleeps without a thought for the morrow. This is as nothing, however, in comparison with the characteristic that truly sets him apart. This description may recall, to some, the famous, or infamous, *pícaro* of Golden Age Spain, and even the *Periquillo Sarniento* by Fernández de Lizardi in early Mexico, but what is important here again is language. The exuberant loquacity, the fantastic verbalism, the endless stream of words which Echánove Trujillo has baptized with the term *cantinflismo* in honor of the famous actor. This *cantinflismo* constitutes what may be a typical Mexican phenomenon, as Echánove Trujillo suggests, and he gives credit for the origin of this mumbo-jumbo, which, in the final analysis is a method of avoiding embarassment, to the original inhabitants, the Mexicans. These people employed what he calls a verbal formalism and explains it as a manifestation of the esthetic sense, the innate hypocritical tendency of the aborigine which is noted and remarked upon by no less an authority than the famous Spanish historian, Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. The latter describes a situation in which two Indians, travelling in opposite directions, begin shouting greetings to each other at the moment of coming in sight. These greetings, or whatever the sounds may have been, are continued until they lose sight of one another once more. Other examples are given but this one will suffice for present purposes. Echánove Trujillo concludes that it all boils down to a caricature of a cultural decomposition of a once appropriate manner of speech which today is converted into a form of incoherent verbalism, as abundant as it is pointless, which at times even affects the upper classes of society much as Negro speech has in the southern region of the United States. It is also the origin of the *cantinflismo* which is so hilariously enjoyed by the Mexicans because it is the "living mummy", if you please, of what was once the gallant flowering of a culture now dead. It is also something that only a Mexican or a near native bilingual can understand. It is somewhat akin to speaking euphuistic English today with an endless jargon of multisyllabled words. And to this situation the still apparent belief in the magic power of the word and the humor of the show becomes more obvious. This is what makes Cantinflas so popular, but to transfer it to the United States would be as successful as transferring Uncle Remus to the Eskimo culture. Nevertheless, this is the type of transfer that many Anglo writers attempt with their foreign language textbooks.

There is a point or two in the foregoing exposition, however, in which facts seem to be somewhat at variance. Echánove Trujillo explains the extreme loquacity as being of aboriginal origin. In Central America there is a country, Costa Rica, whose people are noted for their polite, flowery and somewhat wordy language. Here again is a most hospitable, generous, industrious and ingratiating people who would harm no one for any reason except for self defense and who, in fact, are as eager as any to establish warm and friendly relationships with everybody. These friendly, loquacious people, whose speech is sometimes described as singing, had no aborigines from whom to inherit their verbosity. They simply abhor silence as nature abhors a vacuum. The aboriginal inhabitants were largely exterminated by the Spanish conquistadores. There is one small village of Indians relegated to the most remote part of the Republic having no contact with the white population. The Costa Ricans, the *Ticos* as they are affectionately called, claim the whitest people and the prettiest girls in Central America.

On the other hand there is Peru whose people boast of the clarity and concision in their language. They waste few words yet withall manage to be as courteous and hospitable as any in Spanish America while the population is two-thirds Indian. The Indians were there and still are, in many countries. They undoubtedly have influenced ways of life as well as the language (as they have in English), but it is doubtful that they must take the credit or the blame, as the case may be, for the Spanish American's volubility. Many were and are more taciturn and morose than voluble. This volubility is a natural and legitimate inheritance imbedded in the personality during the centuries of its shaping and molding in the fiery furnace of the struggle among castes on the Iberian peninsula. It is one of the many composite factors which make of them such experts in inter-personal and international relationships. It enables them at all times to preserve the beauty of the situation.

Linguistic Usage

It is common knowledge that every one goes to school the first day in kindergarten or first grade in full command of the spoken language, able to understand and to be understood without the slightest difficulty, in the mother tongue. Ordinarily, however, these youngsters are unable to either read or write nor do they know grammar as we commonly think of it. In other words, they are illiterates. There are also adult illiterates who talk volubly, make themselves understood and understand others, in their mother tongue. Yet they remain illiterate without knowledge of grammatical rules. Finally, for thousands of years, man talked without so much as suspecting the possibility of reading and writing. From this it is clearly evident that language began as and continues to be speech. Speech may be defined for present purposes as sounds used with agreed-upon meanings for the purpose of communication. This is not to say that there are no other means of communication nor does it eliminate possible aids to communication such as gestures, facial appearance, body posture, signs, symbols, pictures and objects. Many of the so-called languages such as sign, flower, international (e.g. Esperanto), smoke signals, telegraph and other codes, are all based on speech and its related forms.

If the basis of language is speech, then what of writing and the printed page? It is a graphic (writing and printing, etc.), representation of speech and not infrequently a rather poor one. Writing is no more language than are snail trails in the sand on the beach. It is merely a means of recording, of keeping a record, more or less permanent, of what was said, done, agreed upon, was thought of or is to be said or read by a reader. It is no more language than the beautiful advertising picture in the magazine is the automobile that it tries to sell. It is no more language than the Greek letters of the fraternity which they represent. Writing consists of the squiggles, the turkey tracks, the graphic symbols which represent the sounds of speech.

It will be recalled that these sounds of speech have what was called "agreed upon" meanings. The intention here is to emphasize the fact that sounds have no intrinsic meaning, i.e., a given sound does not normally and naturally possess meaning. Somethings are easily identified by the sounds they make such as an ambulance or a patrol car, but the sounds themselves have no meaning. If each and every sound had intrinsic meaning the world would be a much simpler place in which to live for there would be but one language. Everybody the world around would know the meaning of each and every sound and everybody would understand everything said anywhere and could be understood. Unfortunately, there was the tower of Babel, whatever cataclysm that may have been.

To summarize briefly, language basically is speech which in turn makes use of a selected group of sounds with agreed-upon meanings for the purpose of communication. This time, however, the word "selected" has been added. The purpose is to point out that no two languages use exactly the same set of sounds, nor even the same number. It would appear that there may have been a single original or parent language (spoken by Adam or Noah?) which, possibly is the mother of all languages that exist or have existed since then. That this is true seems to be indicated by the fact that all languages seem to have developed and continue developing in accordance with regular procedures which have come to be called laws, such as Grimm's Law. Vowel changes seem to be more or less regular and routine as do changes in grammatical structure or syntax. Separate or different languages may have developed independently, but in either case each linguistic group has "selected" its own group of sounds for its characteristic means of communication. Sometimes these sounds of the different languages contrast greatly, at others they may be so similar as to make it difficult for the untrained or unaccustomed ear to detect the differences. This explains the seeming inordinate insistence, by some teachers, upon "correct pronunciation." The slightest variation in sound often results in great differences in meaning. For example, there are several words in English all of which begin with the same *p* sound and all end with a *t* sound. Since they are three and four letter words, a slight variation in the middle sound could have disastrous affects. The words are: pit, pet, pat, pot, put, putt, peet and peat. The course of history might well have been changed if Joseph had been put in a pot instead of a pit. Anyone, presumably, would prefer a pat to a pot on the head, not to mention a putt. Between languages the differences can be both humorous and serious. A Spanish speaking person has been heard to say that he came to the United States from his country by sheep when in reality he meant to say he came by ship. Mispronunciation is permissible within limits, but to exceed those limits is to fail to communicate.

Frequently, the question is asked, "Where is the best Spanish spoken?" The "correct" answer is another question, "Which country are you in or going to?" The answer to this last question will tell where the best Spanish is spoken, for one must communicate with the people around him. They will understand only if the language used in addressing them is the one they are accustomed to hearing, or a reasonable fascimile thereof. Anything else, regardless of how similar, will divert attention from meaning to form, and the extent to which this diversion takes place is the measure of the loss in communication. Form gets the attention, content is lost and communication breaks down — in any language whether the mother tongue or a foreign one. For this and other reasons it is not advisable to teach beginners the familiar forms of Spanish verbs and address. The same forms are not popular in every country, sometimes they vary within a country and are not used in the same circumstances in any two countries. The student should learn to recognize them from exposure only, but should not learn them until he has an opportunity to master those in use in the country in which he finds himself.

The use of the formal, third person form of address may occasionally sound a little stilted, but it will never result in the ugly breaches of etiquette that are not only possible but likely when the unititiated uses the familiar forms. Perhaps another word of caution may be excusable at this time. Anglos have developed the custom of using the second *you* as an impersonal pronoun in place of the appropriate *one*. Upon hearing this manner of address an Anglo does not even realize that it might be different. Unconsciously and willingly he accepts such statements as "You can't do that," or "You've got to obey the law." Such statements, when translated, will cause the Spanish speaking person immediately to ask who says he can't, or else he proceeds to do it. The Spanish speaking person takes everything quite personally, especially personal pronouns, for he is an expert in personal relationships and quite sensitive to anything that may impinge upon his person or people. The most general remarks about his country are taken personally to such an extent that a generic compliment will be accepted with thanks for his part in it. There is a linguistic method, however, for being quite impersonal — and very politely so — and it is one of the things that beginning students should learn at the earliest possible date. The Spanish speaking person uses it regularly and frequently.

Before proceding with linguistic usage, it is convenient to return to speech and writing. In connection with the latter there have been some assumptions on the part of the teaching profession that have caused students of foreign languages no end of confusion and disappointment. One of these is that the Anglo student writes English, *ergo* he should write Spanish. This matter has been further compounded by the fact that the English and Spanish Alphabets are almost identical in appearance, so much so, in fact, that it is difficult if at all possible to convince an Anglo student that Spanish *ch* is not the same as English c-h, that the Spanish *ll* is not a double l, that *rr* is not a double r, and that, to a Spanish speaking person, a z is not an English *z* but more nearly an *s*. He simply will not believe that *ch*, *ll* and *rr* are single, individual characters or graphic symbols of the Spanish alphabet, not even when he sees that there are sections in the dictionary or vocabulary headed by *ll* and *ch*. Add to this the fact that the student, when confronted with the foreign language written in what appears to be the familiar English alphabet, he invariably, normally enough and naturally, pronounces it with the customary English sounds. He refuses to let the foreign language sound foreign. Consequently, he acquires an excellent mispronunciation but no recognizable language. Hence, the Anglo and the Spanish speaking person have an almost common and therefore treacherous alphabet. A remedy for it is large over-doses of language laboratory.

By this time it should be quite evident that meaning is associated with sound, not exclusively but primarily. Hence, in order to ascertain the accurate meaning, the sounds must be known and understood accurately. From the point of view of time, an economical way to accomplish this is to learn to speak the language for it is not possible to read or write any language that cannot be spoken. At this point many readers will expostulate, "Oh, but I can read and write (some language) but I can't speak it." Will the reader please be gently reminded that he can speak it? If not he could neither read nor write it, and this is the second point. The explanation is simple. Few students, if any, ever studied a foreign language for any significant length of time without developing a sound system to accompany the graphic symbols, the written or printed language. Psychologists have shown that no reading, silent or otherwise, takes place without the formation of some sound, or attempted sound, even abortive or embryonic attempts, to represent the graphic symbols. There have been far too many centuries of talk for speech to be denied an outlet by the Johnny-come-lately upstart of reading. Hence, if the student is not trained to speak the language correctly he will invent his own sound system which serves his classroom (and grade-getting) purposes well enough. But it is not, in this case, an intelligible acoustic system to any one else — it will not serve the purposes of communication with any one, especially a native speaker of the language. To further confuse the situation, more often than not, the wrong or misguided meanings are associated with those incorrect sounds so that what has been learned turns out to be a double handicap. In addition there are too many uses of words that are unusual, "peculiar," regional, colloquial, common to and developed in conversation to be later carried over into writing. Lacking the conversational context in which they are used, i.e., without considerable practice in speaking the language, in a near native situation, there are many meanings, connotations, denotations, implications and innuendos that entirely escape the student who only reads. Perhaps some examples will be illuminating as *cortarle el rabo* (to discharge or fire him), *pagar el pato* (to get stuck with the check in a restaurant), and *llorar en cajón vacío* (Spanish for an Indian expression meaning a voice clamoring in the wilderness). Imagine the plight of the Spanish speaking student who, while studying English as a foreign language, comes upon these expressions: the frontier, the Daniel Boone type, the coonskin cap, a rock garden, a fast woman or a skindiver and many others. Much of the outward form, the encyclopedia content, etc., of this type of expression or reference can be acquired through properly selected reading materials. But it is not done and the real flavor and understanding, the climate, surrounding these expressions are acquired through the give and take of conversation with the native, as are the chiding of "Speak for yourself, John," or the challenge of "Either we hang together or we hang separately," or finally, the snickering reference to "the birds and the bees."

As if the Devil still had not had his full measure, the struggling student learns a word or expression in one context which, in another, apparently makes no sense at all, unless he speaks the language. There is the case in which a Spanish American felt he had been insulted because an Anglo said, "You're spoofing me!" In no other way would he have learned the meaning of this expression.

Another misleading factor is that the student may be able to read and write a textbook or "made" type of foreign language, the kind made especially for teaching purposes, which so often has no practical relationship with the common every-day language. Yet the student thinks he has learned the language in question. He may even be able to read scientific treatises with considerable comprehension because so much scientific terminology is similar, if not the same, in many languages. When it comes to reading a piece of good literary writing, a personal letter, a newspaper, a magazine article, in short, the real, living language, full comprehension is lacking if there is any understanding at all — unless the reader speaks the language. Meaning (semantics) is associated with sound.

The process of reading now becomes a simple matter. It consists of associating the graphic symbol or writing with the acoustic symbol and through it arriving at the meaning. Writing is a symbol of meaning. In other words, reading is a process of associating a physical symbol with an acoustic symbol which represents meaning. This is all done with the speed of light, it is an instantaneous association and interpretation.

This accomplishment assumes certain prerequisites, i.e., the student must know the alphabet in the oral fashion and as well as or better than his own. He must also have had endless drill in associating vowels with consonants in the typical combinations and syllabic forms of the foreign language. Without this pre-reading instruction he is no more prepared to learn to read the foreign language than is the kindergarten or first grade student who lacks the same training but speaks his mother tongue much more fluently.

Reading, however, presupposes writing, and here again, there have been some false assumptions. If a student can write his mother tongue, does it naturally and inevitably follow that he can write a foreign language? In the first place, it is not possible to write what cannot be said, as far as language is concerned. Furthermore, there has been the assumption that since the Spanish alphabet is nearly identical with the English, and since the Anglo student could write English, *ergo* he should be able to write Spanish. Perhaps there is an easy brand of "instant" Spanish which has not yet become nationally known. Any one who has learned the Touch System on the typewriter and then tried to type a foreign language has quickly realized that the ability to write one language by any method, whether mechanical or by hand, does not by any means imply the ability to write another.

Elementary school teachers, critic teachers and college professors of educational methodology make much of helping the primary school child learn to coordinate muscles. For this purpose, instruction in writing is geared to this need with appropriate guidance and activities. It is a safe guess that few, if any, realized that at the same time the child's hand was also learning, probably unconsciously, to form letters and to put them together in certain characteristic and repeated combinations or patterns. Both teacher and student become conscious of the problem here only in connection with certain annoying problems, such as the e-i and i-e sequences that are so illusive. Later on, while learning the Touch System, the fingers of the student eventually learn not only to make the appropriate combinations of letters but also many repeated series of words in phrases or patterns that are also characteristic of the language. The student of piano accomplishes a similar skill.

These combinations or patterns, no matter how simple or complicated, from two-letter to two or more phrases, even sentences, in a foreign language are quite different. First the fingers, hand, arm and then the body, guided by the mind, must learn to make the simple but new combinations of letters, then syllables, next phrases and finally clauses and sentences. The fact that it can be done automatically in one language is almost a guarantee that it cannot be done in another without carefully guided and protracted training. Simplified, directed instruction in learning to write a foreign language by hand is as important as it was in the mother tongue.

It appears to be doubtful, if recent articles in professional magazines are to be accepted, that much useful foreign language will be learned from dialogues, transposition and substitution as well as other types of similar drills, etc. The dialogues do not fit the real life situation with rare exceptions, and are themselves artificial, and the drills in the final analysis are traditional grammar on tape. Grammar can be and has been taught much more economically while conjugations on magnetic tape are no more effective than in a textbook, due allowances being made for the assist in pronunciation.

Experts in linguistics have performed a tremendous service — for linguistic experts. Somehow in the process, both the run-of-the-mill teacher (the vast majority) and the students have been forgotten, generally speaking, as far as the practical situation in teaching and learning is concerned. Many teachers are afraid of linguistics, most know very little about the subject and very few are experts. This is not to belittle the experts who have studied, analyzed and described language and languages — a much needed and most valuable service. Educationists and textbook publishers have given some attention to methodology and especially to teaching — from a logical point of view. The misfortune, or the forgotten factor, is that language is not logical but rather psychological, and, comparatively speaking, very little has been learned about the process of learning. Since the ability to speak the language is the first and primary goal, it may be well to analyze, however superficially, crudely and briefly, the process of talking. What happens when one speaks his mother tongue in ordinary conversation?

There is something inside each normal individual which acts with the speed of light to produce "instant" speech. This genious, or whatever it may be, operates to perform instantaneously all the following acts or functions: Unconsciously to the speaker in most cases, it sorts out the appropriate information to convey in a question, answer or statement; secondly, it selects each sound necessary to formulate the appropriate syllables or phonemes to build each word in turn, then add all the appropriately selected words into phrases, clauses and sentences; thirdly, it gives these phrases, clauses and sentences the correct order or structure; fourthly, it sets in motion the right muscles and organs to utter all the selected sounds, to space them properly, to give them the proper tone, pitch, intonation and inflexion so as to convey to the listener the meaning intended by the speaker. This activity goes on in spurts with short statements or questions, or it may continue at length as in a classroom or public lecture. It may be continuous and with few, if any, hesitations and pauses, in the mother tongue. This brings us back to the question, how does the human organism acquire this miraculous gift of "instant speech?" Sapir calls it the greatest show on earth — this exhibition of the ability to communicate so rapidly. The problem is so close to the individual that he regards it with personal and emotional involvement. Some light may be thrown on it if we examine the process of learning to type or to play the piano. One who has attempted to learn either of these skills realizes how painfully slow the fingers learned where each key is, how long it took to type a perfect copy of a few lines of a single word or to play some scales, and finally to copy some simple sentences or to play a simple melody. What a far cry it was from that to the expert legal typist or the concert pianist which, of course, are not exactly equivalent. The teacher guides and measures progress, but the student must spend endless hours, days, weeks and months, perhaps even years, in learning to type or to play with sufficient skill for public exhibition, to acquire the genious that directs the whole process. When this point has been reached there is barely perceptible awareness of the original material or score which is reproduced with almost instantaneous speed, in the same manner as in speaking. In fact, if one becomes aware of or pays attention to the activity of the fingers, there will almost certainly be an error — the same is true for speech. In either case, the way to acquire the desired skill, typing or playing the piano or speaking a language is apparently through endless practice. The ability to speak the language must be developed as a psycholinguistic skill or, in simpler and redundant terms, it must be developed into an *automatic* set of speech *habits*. Nothing short of sheer habit will produce the lightning-like speed of stimulus and response reaction required for fluency in ordinary conversation. This is the way the child learned to speak his mother tongue, and any parent can testify to the endless repetition and noise-making in which youngsters engage. One does not learn to swim by reading about it, nor does one become a competitive swimmer by being thrown into the pool to sink or swim as best he may. One does not learn to drive a car or a golf ball by reading about it, or to pilot a plane through a correspondence course. The mastery of any skill requires guided practice, and the more complicated the skill the greater the amount of practice required — there is no royal road to learning. The ability to talk normally is one of the most complicated skills acquired by man.

One more statement and this long treke around Robin's barn, this circumlocution, will have reached its destination. As indicated above, articles in recent numbers of the *Modern Language Journal* have raised serious questions concerning the effectiveness of dialogue learning as well as that of the different drills "invented" by linguistic experts. The over-emphasis on the application of the techniques of the linguistics experts is not to be blamed upon them — they have rendered a most valuable service. The weakness lies in that textbooks have unwittingly bent every effort to teaching either linguistic techniques or simply the traditional grammar. Grammar can be taught far less expensively by traditional methods. Regardless of which is taught the results are still traditional, or at least this seems to be the case at the moment. Under the guise of linguistic techniques, there has been a fracturing of the language which effectively shatters the guiding genius within the individual student and blocks the development of the necessary psycholinguistic speech habits without which there can be no instantaneous speech.

If an expression may be borrowed from educational terminology which insists that "the whole man" be educated, then the whole language must be taught, and learned. To acquire within the human organism the “genius” for “instant speech,” it is required that the speech be taught or, better said, learned as it is used by the native speaker. This automatically eliminates artificial dialogues, which seldom fit the practical situation, and the various types of “linguistic drill’ which are even more abnormal.

A continuous theme which will run throughout an entire year’s work for the student will enable him to be aware of the subject at all times. It avoids the embarrassing experience similar to that of entering a room where people are animatedly conversing about a subject unknown to the newcomer. The continuous theme will enable the student to pick up the thread of the conversation at any point because the language is being used in a normal situation and he started at the beginning of the conversation. Otherwise, each chapter or lesson becomes one of those embarrassing situations which causes the student to lose time trying t o“catch up” with the conversation. He knows the subject, the content is related to a known theme and he can read or listen to the new turn of the conversation with much greater ease, with greater understanding (he can guess at what is going on when necessary) and he takes greater pleasure in the activities of the class. Obviously, the theme must be of interest to the students — perhaps travel to and within the country whose language is being studied. Travel is of wider interest than probably any other theme and fits in with the reason for studying a foreign language besides the fact that if offers the occasion for any type of situation in which to teach and learn any desirable vocabulary.

To be fully effective, the complete story of the continuous theme is written out in the language by a native, or nearly native bilingual, speaker of the language. Thus the language used will express the concepts and use the vocabulary and structure normally and naturally employed by the native speaker of the language. There are thus eliminated the dangerous pitfalls of expressing Anglo customs and culture in Spanish which makes either the language or the content seem queer because their union is illigitimate. According to many sociologists, culture, language and personality form an integrated organism. To substitute a foreign body for one of these elements automatically causes the organism to produce antibodies or to set in motion the biological rejection mechanism in an effort to eliminate the infectious or foreign material. Spanish Americans do not go home at five o’clock from their office, mow the lawn and then sit on the porch smoking their pipe, as one textbook would have us believe.

After the story has been written by the native speaker, the remainder of this large and tedious task is the mechanical one of textbook manufacture. The story is divided into chapters, these into narration, exercises and drills on meaningful sentences drawn from the context where they have meaning and recall a life-like situation. The narration is divided into short sentences, not more than a dozen syllables each for the beginner, i.e., short enough for drill in class and in the laboratory so that the same sentences may be used in both places. The student hears nothing in the laboratory that he has not first heard in a classroom drill session where the teacher introduces him to the foreign sounds of the language. The rest of the process is altogether too familiar. Eventually, and at the appropriate time, instruction in reading will be introduced and writing comes still later. The acquisition of literacy in the language is a two year project if begun in junior high school, senior high or college. To acquire competency is the next stage as prescribed by the Modern Language Association.

By this time the reader will have become aware of the purpose of what seemed to be a boring derailment covering extraneous matter. The purpose, hopefully, has been to show that customs, culture and personality of the people must be expressed by, and taught along with, their language. So-called civilization courses largely miss the mark and, when presented in the foreign language, are delayed until most of their value to the student has been dissipated. An important aspect of the customs of a people falls under the heading of manners. These are so closely related to language that the two are probably learned simultaneously and together constitute, to a large degree, the particular variety of courtesy associated with a given personality. It also involves much of what is thought of by Anglos as integrity or by Spanish Americans as *un hombre formal*, which includes the pattern of thought and the philosophy of life. These seem to be all acquired simultaneously albeit by stages and at different ages and levels of development. Some examples may help to clarify the intent here.

While an Anglo learns to express profuse thanks (in an effort to rid himself of obligation) while accepting a gift or a favor, the Spanish American says little. Not long afterwards, however, he expresses his gratitude through the act of giving or doing something rather touching for it bespeaks considerable thought and knowledge of the personality of the individual for whom it is intended.

While waving goodbye to a departing guest, the Anglo holds his hand outstretched, palm downward or outward, waving toward his departing guest as if rushing him hurriedly away. In the same situation the Spanish American holds the palm upward and waves as if beckoning his departing guest to return, or as common Anglo parlance has it, "Hurry back." Naturally enough, the appropriate language accompanies the action in both cases.

When referring to children gestures are frequently quite appropriate to indicate height. The Anglo will hold his hand out, palm down, to show how tall a child is. To the Spanish speaking person this gesture indicates the height of an animal and would be insulting to a human being. He holds the palm verticle, extends two or four fingers and thus indicates the height of the *criatura* (dear little child). Like the Normans and Anglo-Saxons, the Spaniard separated two sets of terminology, one applicable to parts of the human body and the other to animals. The reason was not class or caste but, as indicated previously, that no fondness for or attachment to them was ever wasted upon animals. They are possessions.

A typical telephone conversation is still another story. The Anglo picks up the instrument, dials the number of his associate or friend, and begins the conversation with, "About that business we were discussing . . .," and the conversation ends as abruptly as it began, frequently by merely hanging up without so much as a goodbye or an O. K.

The Spanish American proceeds somewhat differently. If he is calling a friend at home or at the office, the maid or the secretary will answer, "Halo," or "Bueno," or even "Diga." The caller now asks for the person to whom he wishes to speak whereupon the maid or secretary asks, *¿De parte de quien?* (Who is calling?). When the person called answers, the caller begins by asking about his friend's health, then about that of each member of the family in turn, including any in-laws who may be living with the family and ending with an exchange of remarks concerning mutual friends. Then, as if on sudden inspiration, "Look man, it just occurred to me . . ." They finally get down to business and when this is finished there are ample expressions of leave-taking to allow time to make certain that each has said all that he wants to say and is ready to discontinue the conversation. In Mexico, it sometimes ends with *Bueno, bye-bye.*

During a conversation in either language, there come moments when the speaker hesitates and searches for a word or a phrase. The Anglo frequently fills the space or interruption in the flow of speech with "and a," "uh," "er," etc. The Spanish speaker, on the other hand, simply says . . . *este* . . . and goes on.

When being introduced, the courteous Spanish American gives his own name and finishes with a *sus órdenes* or *para servirle*, both meaning more or less "Your servant." When old friends meet after a long absence they may say, *¡Cuánto tiempo sin verle!* or *¡Dichosa los ojos!* (How long since I have seen you! or How fortunate are my eyes!) These and other expressions are accompanied by *un abrazo* (a hug) on the part of two men or two women and an exchange of many compliments between a man and a woman. In passing it may be noted that men may be seen walking down the street arm in arm. The Spanish American is not afraid to express his emotions and he does so quite freely.

Returning to conversations, it may become necessary to ask that something be repeated. There are several formulas that will accomplish this purpose, e.g., *mande ud.* (What did you say? — in Mexico), *diga* (please repeat), *deciá ud* . . . (You were saying . . . ?). To excuse oneself, as when passing in front of a person, taking momentary leave as from the table or from a conversation, one may say *con permiso*. The appropriate answer may be *es suyo, es propio, siga no más*. When greeting friends for the first time in the day, there are expressions in addition to *buenos diás*, such as *¿Cómo amaneció Vd?* (How were you feeling when you woke up? There is an occasional macabre play on the verb *amanecer*, e.g., *ameneció muerto*, (He woke up dead). An old sixteenth century Spanish greeting now heard, in all probability, only among the Spanish Speaking mountaineers of Colorado and New Mexico is *¿Quiúbole?*, a corruption of *¿Qué húbole?* meaning What's new since I saw you last? Another expression in the same category, used when taking leave, is *llegue* (Come see me or, in southern parlance, Y'all come). The corresponding answer is *ai llegaré* (I'll be there).

When asking for the bathroom several expressions are available depending upon the country and situation. The name used in Cajamarca, Peru, has already been mentioned. In public buildings it will be labeled *damas, señoras* and sometimes *mujeres* for ladies; *caballeros, hombres* and even *varones* for gentlemen. Occasionally one finds *W. C.* from the British Water Closet; also *excusado, privado* and the more popular term in the home *el baño*. On the other hand, closets are unknown in the present-day Anglo sense of a built-in closet. In Spanish America it is a piece of furniture, a cabinet, called an *amario* or a *guardaropa* which is what your grandmother called a wardrobe and you may have to ask her what one looks like.

Terminology used in connection with school work may be of interest. A major is one's *especialidad* or *carrera* while a course or a subject is the *materia* or *asignatura*. A textbook, especially for a foreign language, is a *método*, and to pass an examination or a course is *aprobar* while to fail is *desaprobar*. Only rarely does one graduate but more often *se recibe* (He receives his diploma). Grades are *calificaciones* or less popularly *notas*. An assignment or an exercise to be done out of class and handed in is a *trabajo*. A rough draft of it is a *borrador* and to type it in final form is *sacarlo en limpio*, while a copy is a *copia*, but a copy of a book or a newspaper is an *ejemplar*. A line may be a *línea* anywhere except in print or in writing where it is a *renglón* which term is also used to mean an entry in accounting for a particular project of expense or income. A verse, if you mean two or more lines, is not a *verso* but an *estrofa*. *Verso* refers to poetic writing. As "hardly" is an English negative adverb, so *en mi vida . . .* is also negative, e.g., *en mi vida lo he visto* (Never in my life have I seen it.)

Reference has been made repeatedly to the courtesy of the Spanish American. Good manners and the ability to talk are among the things which distinguish intelligent man from the so-called dumb animals. The Spanish American's manners and courtesy are carried to a polished finesse. He invariably avoids, in so far as is humanly possible, saying anything that could in any wise offend. For example, he does not ask the insulting question, Do you understand? Of course you do. Rather, he asks, *¿Me explico bien?* (Have I explained it clearly?). Since you understand, obviously, there are no questions, so he says, *si hay dudas* . . . (If there are any doubts. . .).

After class is over, if a student happens to walk down the street with his teacher, the student will insist upon walking on the outside out of deference regardless of the fact that the teacher may be younger and the student a high government official. During class, some one may ask, *¿Cómo se escribe . . . ?* (How do you spell . . . ?). Before class, some one who stays in a *pension* (boardinghouse which supplies room, board and laundry) may want to *presentar* (not *introducir*) a friend who is looking for a *tintoreria* (dry cleaning establishment — one in San José Costa Rica, proudly bore the large sign, Canada Dry Cleaning) who may also say *mi tierra es* . . . (I was born in . . .). The name of his birthplace may be spelled *con b de burro* or *con v de vaca* (to differentiate between the "b" and the "v"). He may even be astonished by the billions spent by the United States government, not so much by the quantities as by the way the number is written. *Un billón* is one million millions (1,000,000,000,000) while in English one billion is one thousand millions (1,000,000,000). Spanish may be hard to learn but *la letra con sangre entra* (There is no royal road to learning).

To many Spanish Americans of Central and South America, *los Estados Unidos* means the fifty United States while *Estados Unidos* (without the article) means the Union, the Nation, the Country. The Spanish abbeviation is *EE. UU.* (double letters to indicate the plural) which brings in its train an interesting one, i.e., *OO. PP.* which stands for *Obras Públicas* or Public Works. Then there are *EE. EE. for Empresas Eléctricas* or Power Companies, and *S. A.* (Inc.) which stands for *Sociedad Anómima*, while *Hnos.* stands for hermanos (Bros.) and *Cía.* stands for compañia (Company). The article is an integral part of the name of each of two countries: El Perú and El Salvador. This article is even more important than the one in "The University of . . . This listing could go on and may seem inanely elementary — to the expert for whom it is not intended. It may loom larger to the beginning teacher and the student struggling for literacy in the language.

More directly concerned with language, it is commonly agreed that each culture has its own or "peculiar" way of expressing like or similar concepts. For example, there is a Spanish American poem titled *Tu Boca*, written by a woman, Delmira Agustini, in which she expresses her feeling of hopelessness by saying "*y yo caigo, sin fin, en el sangriento abismo.*" (And I am falling, endlessly, in the bloody abyss.) The English equivalent of *sangriento* (bloody) is associated with murder, assassination, revolution; hardly with an abyss or a chasm. The fact is that the writer does not mean bloody any more than the connotation of "cold blood" was intended in the following case.

An automobile driver in Central America quite cooly and deftly averted a near-tragic head-on collision and drove calmly on his way. One of the Spanish American passengers in the car complimented the driver by saying, *!Qué sangre fría¡* Literally, this translates as "What cold blood" which, obviously is not the intent. "How level-headed," "How calm and collected," "What dexterity," etc., would more nearly express the intent in English. In English, the connotations of "bloody" and "cold blood" do not transfer to Spanish and vice versa.

While there are many differences in language and manners, there are also many similarities. For example, in answer to a compliment about a dress or some possession, the Spanish American will answer, *Es suyo* (its yours). An Anglo visiting in the home of a friend is often constrained to rave about some possession of his host. If this develops into more than a gracious compliment, in the home of a Spanish American friend, the departing guest may find the object in his suitcase when he unpacks. To accept the dress in the first case or the possession praised in the second, because the owner says *es suyo* would be as inappropriate as wearing the Anglo friend's suit because, in respone to a compliment, he says, "You must wear it some time."

When giving his address the Spanish American will likely say the equivalent of "At such and such number on so and so street you have your house." At roll call, the courteous answer is *servidor,* for gentlemen and *servidora* for ladies. In Mexico, however Anglo influence has resulted in the hispanized usage of here, *aquí,* and present *presente.* There are many other inter-actions between the two languages, e.g., *loncheria* to mention only one obvious one. Proximity has produced a tremendus cultural interchange between the two nations.

One of the most embarrassing situations for the Spanish American is to be given too much. To him this is not only "conspicuous giving" but also degrading because he feels that he cannot return value received. It has the effect of causing him to lose face, to be down-graded into a lower class. If it happens very often he may make a complete about-face and become cynical with all the corresponding psychological reactions. The Anglo learns this the "hard way" and to his great chagrin.

Perhaps this chapter may be concluded with another aspect of the Spanish language. Let us begin with the question, what became of the subjunctive mood in English? Why is it so prominent in Spanish? To answer this question for the Spanish language, the long history of Moorish domination is significant. This is the period when caste and personality were being formed along with the language. The Spaniard gradually learned to look upward, to consider himself a caste apart, in fact, a superior caste. With this feeling of superiority there grew up, first a reluctance and finally a refusal to do anything of a mechanical or menial nature. He could not lower himself to manual labor, the activity which was characteristic of a despised caste. Yet some how or other he must live, he must have food, shelter and defense. Because of these practical necessities he learned to accept the fact that the despised castes could do things that he would not or could not do. This in turn brought with it the need to keep the people of those castes around and available for what they could do for him. In short, the Spaniard had to depend upon them while still despising them as members of a greatly inferior caste. The result was that he found himself in a contradictory position filled with uncertainties, fears and pride. He must maintain his superiority at all costs yet he must, so to speak, remain in the good graces of those upon whom he must depend. He could not stand the thought of being abandoned. Since the inter-caste contacts were carried on mainly by means of language, it became necessary that it indicate, show and maintain this relationship. It will be recalled that even the *Siete Partidas* prohibited certain aspects of intercourse between castes. It was the good fortune of the Spaniard, whose language is an off-spring of Latin, that he had at hand a ready-made instrument with which to accomplish his personality purpose. He found the Latin subjunctive mood quite to the point and most useful. By using this indirect means of address he was not forced to lower himself to the level of the inferior caste. He could say something, as it were, as though he were only thinking out loud, as if he were addressing the heavens, or as if he were only and unconsciously expressing a wish, a command, an emotion, out loud, without being overheard, yet some one could and did hear and carried out the wish. The Spaniard could not then be stigmatized, perhaps ostracized, for having had direct contact with the forbidden, inferior caste. The subjunctive mood served this purpose well enough; it fitted his personality exactly and so was preserved intact and is in full swing today, still being used for the same purposes. The purpose may be some what ameliorated by modern developments in culture and civilization, but it is still of sufficient force to leave no doubt about its origin, nature and purpose.

English, on the other hand, was not the language of the conqueror, the superior caste, nor of the dominant caste or class. On the contrary, in 1066 it became the language of the serving and laboring class during the Norman domination. This is still attested today by a number of lexical items. What the vanquished Saxon farmer called sheep, the Norman master at the table called *mouton* (mutton); what the Saxon called ox or cow the Norman called *boeuf* (beef); what the Saxon called veal the Norman called *veau*, etc. In other words, the English speaking people did not give but took orders. Hence, the French language has also preserved the subjunctive mood, but not quite to the same extent as Spanish. English had to be direct and to the point, concise, perhaps even curt. For these reasons, perhaps, the English language in the United States lost almost all vestiges of the subjunctive mood. At least, the trend set in at that time and has not since been interrupted, with the possible exceptions of certain small regional pockets in a few mountainous areas.

English may be said to be the language of the hard worker which is the very reason that he has no energy to spare for verbalism. What has to be said must be uttered briefly, to the point, with the greatest possible economy of time and effort. Time is money and it should not be wasted on idle words. The speaker or writer should be direct, concise even to the point of being "short" or curt. English is the language of the worker, the curious investigator, the scientific mind, the technician. It is economical of vocabulary and structure, its basic native words are short, one or two syllables, there are few endings, there is little ornamentation and there are even words which have no meaning at all and are used only as mortar in building the concrete structure with as few blocks as possible. Some expressions consist of the compressed wreckage of older and longer sentences an example of which is "Unesco praises WHO." Only praise would be found in the dictionary. To the student of English as a foreign language, this may appear to be both lexically and structurally garbled, but such is the language of the technician, i.e., economical of time and effort. He has a large vocabulary to call upon but uses as little of it as possible. The language suits the personality of the English speaking person.

Spanish, on the other hand, is the language of diplomacy and romance, of poetry, worship and adoration, of tact and courtesy, of warmth and hospitality, an euphonious and harmonious language in contrast with the harsh, rugged English manner of speech. Spanish is the language in which to extemporize, in poetry or prose, the langugage that can sway emotionally or be polished to a fine legal point in interpersonal or international relationships; it is the medium for establishing friendships, for exploring a fellow man's personality in order to compliment and magnify it later and thus magnify one's own personality. Spanish is the medium for keeping others at a distance or attracting them, for building them up and making them feel important or to maintain cool, respectful distances. It is flattering, never short nor curt, but would rather be wordy with long sentences, no repetitions, many clauses, and flowers and compliments for everybody. It is the language of the gracious, ingratiating host of national or international guests. It fits and suits the purposes of the personality.

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Chapter XIV

Economics And Business Administration

The Foreigner

The intervention of foreigners in the commerce of Spain, which had given so much concern in the previous era, was an even greater problem in the sixteenth and following centuries. Many factors contributed to make this the case including the industrial decline, which favored the importation of foreign goods; the eighteenth century efforts to produce an economic revival which led to the seeking out of foreign models, teachers and workmen; the later encouragement of Frenchmen as a result of the Bourbon entry into Spain; and defeats in war, which necessitated Spain's submission to the exactions of her opponents (many of whom insisted upon commercial privileges) or the legalization of assumed trade rights which they had indulged in without right. In the Americas the English were the most prominent element, but in Spain the French were. The leading French merchants established themselves in Cádiz, the gateway to the Americas, whence they proceeded to absorb a great part of Spain's profits from the New World.

In general, the legislation of the era was favorable to foreigners. Their knowledge and labor were so greatly desired that they were even granted special privileges or exemptions to encourage them to take up their residence in Spain and religious strictures were relaxed. Popular opinion was against them, however, and the laws were not wholly free from this influence. Men complained as formerly, that the foreigners were making immense profits and stifling Spanish competition, while the hatreds engendered by the wars with England and France and by the scant respect and haughty manners which some foreigners displayed for the laws and customs of Spain tended to increase the spirit of antagonism. Foreigners were often mistreated, although the acts were rarely performed by officials. Even foreign dignitaries, e.g., consuls, were granted no special rights or immunities by the government which would differentiate them from nationals. One accusation against foreigners, among others, was that they engaged in contraband trade. This was true although as a rule it was done in complicity with corrupt Spanish officials. Foreigners justified themselves on the ground that unless they were willing to make gifts to Spaniards in authority they were obliged to suffer a thousand petty annoyances. "Money and gifts," said the French ambassador Vaulgrenant, "have always been the most efficacious means of removing the difficulties which can be raised, on the slightest pretext, against foreign merchants. That has been the recourse to which the English have always applied themselves, with good results." The fact remains, however, that the French, English and many others had entered the commercial field in Spain and Spanish America to stay. The way of life established at that time by the conquistadores in Spanish America was not to be disrupted at any time, by revolution or otherwise. The permanence of this way of life is attested by no less an authority than the President of Bolivia, Victor Paz Estenssoro in his article "La revolución boliviana" published in the daily, *Tribuna Universitaria* in Montevideo, June, 1957. According to him, the feudal system that had been implanted in the sixteenth century was a shackle that effectively choked off the economy, especially in Bolivia although some of the other republics may be in better conditions. When buying land the owner also acquired the Indian serfs on the property who were obliged to work it without compensation. Under the circumstances, the owner, now as then, had no interest in buying tractors or other agricultural machinery. Why should he? Those farmer-serfs produced infinitely less than machinery could, but the owner was not the least interested in increasing it because the net profit from the labor of the Indians was larger than the machinery could produce and far less expensive and troublesome.

Then, too, the Spanish colonist had his sense of dignity, his code of honor and meager education, and his refusal to work the land with any sense of permanency, all of which combined with his religious intolerance to prevent the full and rapid development of Spanish America. Furthermore, any efforts at industrialization which may have been promoted where there were such small markets had to be monopolies. They require heavy subsidies and protection by the state, and for these reasons they are either granted to politicians or are converted into political agencies. The life of these monopolies depends upon official support and they are obliged to control the state by any means available in order to protect their un- or anti-economical investments. Finally, the economic life of most of the countries has had to be centered around foreign support and interests rather than around national needs. This results in locating cities, industries and means of communication for the convenience of foreign markets and not where they would do the most good for the unification and development of the nation.

The Technician

It should be clear by now from previous chapters that the apparent instability and the failure to develop natural resources were not due to lack of knowledge. There were plenty of people who knew what to do, but here again, tradition and history or time have been against the people of Latin America. It is a source of dismay and concern that the Latin American republics should be referred to as "backward," "underdeveloped," or "underprivileged" countries. Time plays a tremendous role and an example in point is the fact Anglo America boasts of its high standard of living, its luxuries and even occasionally lords it over Spanish America. Yet one of the principal reasons for the difference is that the United States declared its independence in 1776 while Spanish America did not obtain independence until 1826. There is a half century of difference in time, and some of the republics did not obtain independence until the twentieth century.

If the Latin American republics did not develop as fast as might have been expected, there are some other reasons over which they also had no control. Each country developed as best it knew how in the light of the political and economic theories of the time. These were known and the founding fathers added the knowledge of, experience with and information about practices in Europe. On these bases the respective republics were established with their respective boundaries, full sovereignty, their governments and their domestic organization. The result was that the tremendous natural resources of Latin America were divided up among twenty nations, as were the people, thus reducing manufacturing potential and markets that otherwise would have been large enough to justify industrialization. Simón Bolívar must have sensed this as he dreamed of a unified confederacy of Latin American States. But his dream came to naught and he died brokenhearted.

Anglo America seldom stops to take stock and realize the blessings that accrue to a confederacy or a union of fifty states. Without the market thus available, the low cost, standardized, assembly-line production and volume sales and purchasing would not be available to facilitate the consequent mass production, low prices, unlimited luxuries at common prices, etc.; passports to go to Las Vegas from Hollywood would be a nuisance, to say the least, and import duties across state lines would make federal income taxes appear insignificant. The shipping delays caused by customs inspections, transhipment and consular licenses with sanitary inspection in addition to the small markets and uncertain demand from "foreign states" would all have combined to keep what is now "America the land of the free," and of plenty reduced to a conglomeration of foreign countries. Each of these "countries" would be more under-developed than many of the so-called "underprivileged" nations of today.

Until the idea of the common market or of the customs or the commercial union takes hold in groups or in all the Latin American republics, industrialization, as it is known in the United States, even on a small scale, is out of the question. In the meantime they will per force be content with their lot as suppliers of natural resources or raw materials and importers of finished products. This, as all other generalizations about Latin America, is subject to the fact that even now changes are taking place, some good, others not so healthy. Steel industries are beginning to operate in Brazil, Peru and Venezuela, some on a sound economic basis or nearly so, some for the sake of prestige and at great cost. The petroleum industry, of course, has long since been developed in many countries, notably Venezuela, Mexico and Peru.

To return to the opening statement of this chapter, the knowledge is there and ready to be put to use, in politics, in economics, in science, in jurisprudence, in medicine. In may be emphasized, then, that the failure, if any, is not due to lack of knowledge but to the lack of what the yankee calls "know how." There is a great gulf between knowing the theory and knowing how to apply it. It is for this reason that the yankee has so many technical schools. It is one thing to be an electrical or an electronics engineer; it is something else to know how to repair a radio or a television receiver. The Spanish Americans are excellent theorizers; they have produced outstanding international lawyers and a Salvadorean served as Judge of the World Court at the Hague and a Mexican was Secretary General of Unesco It will be remembered that the Spaniard, Miguel Servet, discovered the circulation of blood, that another Spaniard, Antonio de Nebrija, produced the first grammar and that the Spanish mystics were the first psychologists. Hence, it may be said that the yankee has the "know how" while the Spaniard and the Spanish American have the "know how to live." It has been suggested many times that there should be a lively interchange between the two, in both directions, with much more emphasis on the current flowing northward.

If progress has not been as rapid in Spanish America as perhaps the people themselves would have liked, it is due to some fundamental reasons. Most of these have been touched upon above and the concern here will be with the more obvious. The knowledge was there, the theories were known — the education system saw to that — but it was knowledge for the sake of knowledge only. What was lacking was the willingness to do the work required to apply those theories, that is, there were no technicians. For example, a school needed an automatic bell ringer to start and stop summer session classes of a foreign aid education program. None was available and importation was out of the question as the need would have disappeared before the program clock could arrive. A yankee school teacher made use of an open-faced clock with a ten inch dial by attaching two contact points, ten minutes apart, to the face for the minute hand to slide over. This produced a make-shift device that would ring a bell at the beginning and end of each fifty-minute period. The entire school and all officials of the ministry of education were astounded at the application of electrical theories well known to all of them. They exclaimed repeatedly over the ingenuity of the yankee school teacher.

Latin American constitutions are masterpieces of political writing. Economic theories were and are well known, but neither the one nor the other could be applied. The application requires a technician who knows how and is willing to tinker with the apparatus, who is willing to exert a sustained effort until the objective is accomplished. This is not for one who is descended from the Spaniard, not for the upper class individual who belongs to the caste, the only class that can afford and is entitled to an education — in other words the aristocrat. This is the tradition handed down from Spain, a tradition that grew out of the firey conflict with the Moors and the Jews, as described previously, the only ones who engaged in business, in trades and the occupations. Because of the religious conflict with these two groups, the Christian Spaniard refused to do anything they did — except fight them or take advantage of their labor. Out of this grew the disdain for manual labor of any kind. Consequently, as Castro says, to be a technician is to be of a lower class. But the lower classes were not entitled to an education and, if they got one, would not be admitted to the ruling circle. This accounts for the marvelous constitutions, the ideal laws (compulsory education) and the perfect education system — on paper. Once the idea has been perfected and reduced to writing, printed and bound, it is the responsibility of the technician to carry it out. But there are no technicians.

At this point we go from the sublime in politics and economics to the ridiculous in everyday life. Ridiculous because the Spanish American does not exploit his own natural resources and business opportunities and yet is incensed and legislates against any one who will, all the while knowing that he must live by the sweat of the technician's brow and his product. To have to live with this situation and to succeed as well as he does merits all the sympathy he can get.

He is still the victim, as he himself laments, of the Spanish heritage and the caste system that the Spaniard developed — and which, come what may, he will not give up. The two humble castes linked up with the superior caste by means of what may be called a broken scale of values. The valued product was accepted while the producer was despised. The work of the artisan, the business man, the industrialist, the wise men, etc., came forth tainted by the fact that it was born of inferior castes. The product was good, but its producers could not be converted into a legitimate social class. The production of wealth was not a valuable index to the Christian caste which at once both needed and disdained those who built fortunes. Had it been otherwise, the hermetic seal would have been broken and the infidel castes would have infiltrated into that of those who ruled with injury to their own existence. Social responsibilities had to be diversified, not according to their objective value, but rather according to the caste that assumed or fulfilled them. The blacksmith, the shoemaker, the mason and other craftsmen were all moors; the doctor, the druggist, the business man, the astrologer, etc., were all Jews. The Christian was all that but in a lesser proportion; his aim was to be a nobleman or priest, in other words, to be in a class that impresses character. Outside of such a framework were to be found the nameless mass of Christian peasantry, squeezed dry by the nobles, the ecclesiastics and the Jews. In this class there is always the ferment of ambition to ascend to the nobility by means of military service and conquest, or the priesthood with the hope of becoming a member of the dominant and seignorial caste. On this basis it is not difficult to understand the ancient adage, *O corte o cortijo* (Either court or farm) or the other equally old and popular saying, *Iglesia o mar, a casa real* (Church or sea, or royal household). One aspired to be a responsible supervisor of the faith, to undertake the adventure that would lead to wealth and seigniory or to serve the king in some form, relying on the consciousness of being *castizo* in both belief and nobility. The consciousness of being a nobleman (by virtue or being a farmer or a mountaineer from Castile) was a special Castilian characteristic. It was not an entirely false premise inasmuch as natives of this region were preferred by the crown for positions of great responsibility.

European patterns are not helpful in understanding the Spanish economy. In the seventeenth century everyone aspired to make it appear that he belonged to the caste of the elect, of the old Christians, of the non-Jewish. As late as the nineteenth century, Simón Bolívar boasted of his "clean lineage." Pure lineage was substantiated positively by means of reports or certificates of "clean blood," and negatively by affecting disinterest in all work judged to be characteristic of Jews and Moors, or else by demonstrating that the ancestors had been uncultured farmers.

The refusal to work with anything below the pen, the sword or the scalpel results in the unfortunate circumstances in which all business in Spanish America is carried on by foreigners or naturalized citizens. Most business and trades will be found to be in the hands of Assyrians, Germans, Dutchmen, Jews, citizens of the United States, Frenchmen, Italians and, recently, refugees from Iron Curtain countries. Efficiency has invariably improved when foreigners took over. For example, in the early 1930's there were no satisfactory hotels in Quito, Ecuador. The following story is told of a man and a woman employed by the Shell Oil Company who met in a jungle oilfield in eastern Ecuador. In time they decided to get married and planned to spend their honeymoon in Quito where they could enjoy the comforts and excitement of the big capital city. They carried out their plans except that they spent only one night in the best hotel in Quito. The accomodations were better at the camp in the oilfield.

With the advent of the Check refugees, and others in 1939 and later, excellent hotels have been built and others are being added. It is frequently true that the upper class Spanish American owns the hotel, the estate, the business house, the agency or the shop. But the manager, foreman, clerks, technicians, master craftsmen, the mechanics are all foreigners or at best mestizos. The Indian has not yet found his place in this society. Even the professions have been invaded, if not actually taken over, and there are Check dentists, German or Jewish physicians, priests of many nationalities, French engineers and others. Business and industry that require large capital outlays are more often than not financed by foreign capital. Nationals who have capital to spare send it to the convenient anonymous accounts identified by number only in the banks of Switzerland in preference to the bother and the risk involved in local investing in addition to the uncertainty of the stability of the national government. Incoming administrations sometimes confiscate the wealth of members of the opposition. The outcome, once more, is that large investments are made in the main by foreigners and are usually managed by them as well.

The control of business by foreigners at first resulted in the importation of much foreign labor. The nationals either were lacking in the necessary training, would not work or would not maintain the standards expected by the foreigner. A case in point is that of an Anglo American who went into business with something on the order of a dairy queen albeit in the quarters and the plumbing available in an old store building. In some three years he had a chain of three such outlets that were quite popular. He brought about his own undoing, however, by insisting upon Anglo standards of hygiene, i.e., sterilization of glasses and silverware, etc. The girls he employed at first refused to use hot water in washing the glasses (it causes pneumonia) and if they did sterilize the glasses thoroughly they would subsequently pick them up by the rim with their fingers to place them on the rack. He found it impossible to establish Anglo American standards of sanitation. The business man's insistence upon his own standards resulted only in making a nervous wreck of himself. He sold his business and returned to his United States home while not a single customer had had a thought for his standards.

The impossibility of carrying on a business according to good (ethnocentric) standards with the available labor tempted foreign managers to import employees, especially relatives and friends with the consequent elimination of job opportunities for the nationals. Governments struck back in several ways, including legislation limiting the number of foreign employees to a percentage varying from ten to twenty. Another way in which they struck back was to expropriate the entire establishment, e.g., the oil wells and refineries in Mexico in 1939, the same in Argentina later and, just recently, in Peru. The limitation on the number of foreigners who may be employed by a business tends to make them become citizens with alacrity and at the same time makes it difficult for Anglo American businesses or branches to exist. Anglos, instead of becoming citizens, invariably plan to "make their pile" and go home, and this with no thought of repaying in the slightest the host country where they made their pile. Recently, some businesses have experimented with training programs (Eastern, Sears, Ford, Chevrolet, Westinghouse and others) and have been successful. They have appealed to local imagination, initiative and contributed to the economy in a substantial manner by encouraging small business among the nationals. This takes place mostly in the growing middle class.

The foregoing, however, has not yet eliminated the same paradox that existed in Spain up to 1492, when the Jews and the Mohammedans did the work. Because they did they were undesirable and therefore were expelled. Spanish America has suffered the same consequences. With the exception of the few artists and the mastercraftsman, the Spanish American has not yet acquired the sense of pride in his work and the patience that results in a finished job. The mechanic will often leave some little finishing touch undone so that the automobile must be taken back soon afterwards for further repairs and this is repeated over and over. The mastercraftsman, however, be he a cabinet maker, a wood carver, a tailor or any other creative worker, will spend hours finishing a job without thought for anything except to turn out an artistic product — to give it the finishing touch, *el broche de oro*. Time is of no consequence, the perfect, finished product is all important and he may receive little compensation for it. But he will have turned out an artistically satisfying item which is his goal. They give a characteristic artistic touch to everything they do.

The present day need for technicians is graphically advertised in a recent newspaper article. The headline in *El Porvenir*, an important daily in Monterrey, Mexico, for an article on 14 August 1966, in Spanish of course, was "Training of workers with UN funds." The article went on to say that the secretary of the treasury and the UN would start a program to spend seventy million pesos for the purpose of multiplying the number of trained workers. The workers are to be trained as technicians for the manufacturing industry. The article praised the program and its probably beneficent results and concluded with the announcement that the first stage of industrial engineering would be included in the curriculum of the primary schools beginning in 1967, in secondary schools in 1968 and in the preparatory schools and the universities in 1969.

Another article in the same newspaper dated 3 August of the same year announces that "Latin Amercia is blocked by lack of experience in agriculture." The article includes the dogmatic statement that agricultural faculties and high schools must have, as their primary objective, the sound training and preparation of technicians for the benefit of the economic development of the country and to prepare men with a high sense of social responsibility. This kind of article appears with monotonous regularity, yet on the 18th of July, 1967, another article in the same daily, from Mexico city, complains of "the excessive technification of the universities." The insistence is upon more and better preparation in the humanities. Three days later, with a Washington, D. C. dateline, *El Porvenir* published an article hailing the creation of a fund in the United States "for the development of science and technology in Latin America." The article dealt chiefly, however, with the "preparation of a *program* of action for the final stage and a *study* of the new scientific services and technology that are to be incorporated into the Interamerican Cultural Council." One must again conclude that there is much ado *about* technology and technicians but very few tangible accomplishments.

Specilization

In a previous chapter it has been indicated that the concept of specialization is not clearly understood in Spanish America. Yet the historical fact is that it was introduced into the New World before the middle of the sixteenth century. The biography of the man responsible for this event, in outline, merits inclusion here.

Don Vasco de Quiroga was born in Spain in 1470. By the time he was sixty years old (1530) he had taken minor orders in the Church and had developed a reputation as a lawyer. At this time Charles V wanted to send a legal mind to Mexico City as an *Oidor* or judge for a five-year tour of duty. Don Vasco was chosen and rendered creditable service. During his tour of duty, however, he became interested in the Indians and requested permission to stay and work among them — at the age of sixty-five. The request brought the Church into play and he was made first Bishop of what is now known as the State of Michoacán in Mexico.

Don Vasco found that certain Indian villages seemed to do better at leather work, others at pottery, some at agricultural pursuits, some at woodworking and so on. On this basis he organized the Indians into a communal society and regulated the villages so that each would turn out the product of its specialty in sufficient quantities to supply all other villages. The product of each village was then stored in a common warehouse which was kept under three locks with different keys, each in the possession of a different individual or official. Supplies from the warehouse were issued to families when needed provided that they had contributed to the general stock. Those persons who did not work and contribute to the common stores were not only refused rations but were banished from the community. Many of the regulations governing this communal life have been preserved as have some of the customs initiated by Don Vasco. He died while on a walking tour of his Diocese in 1565.

The process of natural selection has brought about the above type of specialization on a national scale among the several Spanish American nations. The products which a country can best produce by virtue of its climate, geography and soil have become the mainstay of the economy and the principal cash producing export. For example, the Central American countries export coffee, hardwoods and bananas; Colombia, salt, emerals, diamonds and coffee; Ecuador, bananas; Bolivia, tin; Argentina, beef and wheat; Chile, copper and nitrates; Peru, silver, copper and guano with a recent development in fishmeal; and Cuba may yet return to its status as the sugar bowl of the western hemisphere. In most cases, however, this type of economy has proven to be precarious since it made the country, its government and economy, dependent upon a one crop type of economy. The several countries were, therefore, most sensitive to business cycles and were extremely hard hit by the Great Depression of 1929. Many dictatorships fell at that time because they were unable to maintain the common domestic services for lack of income.

Government budgets, and the ability to repay international loans and other foreign debts, were dependent for their income upon imports and exports. The slightest variation in business health would immediately be reflected by the income side of the national budget. Eventually it appeared that it would help to smooth out the cycles in business if diversification could be brought about, especially if more emphasis were placed upon agriculture. These attempts met with obstacles in the form of lack of education, inertia and beaurocrary. Agricultural schools were few and far between, those who could afford to attend belonged to the upper classes, and upon completion of their education in agriculture, either returned to their own haciendas or were employed by their own governments in office positions. The net result was to continue depriving society at large of the benefits of what little education there was. Government employment nearly always results in a return to conservative thinking and a desire to maintain the beaurocrary and the status quo at all costs. Once more, there was no technician to put theory into practice — no county agent, no home demonstration agent, in short nobody. As set forth in the chapter on education, there were no specialists to improve the agricultural practices of the country.

Without a solid, well-developed agricultural basis there can be no industrial development. Even if the agricultural basis were to exist it is doubtful that industrialization could proceed for lack of sufficient market. The largest nation in Latin America (Brazil) has a population of only 60 to 70 million people. The combined populations of the five Central American republics is less than twenty million. The population of each of the other Spanish American countries ranges between three and forty million. These populations together with their low standard of living, illiteracy, low wage levels, extremely low annual per capita income and other characteristics of the countries, could not support a general motors, a general electric or other large corporations whose assembly line techniques make possible their standardized products and low prices. Such large scale manufacturing with volume production and low per-unit profit is made possible only by the availability of and access to tremendous markets with a large buying power and felt needs and wants. Furthermore, these corporations, specialists, specialization and the division of labor and technicians which are not available in Latin America could not be produced by the extent education system. An additional obstacle to be taken into account is the culture which, in this case, would not tolerate the demands of efficiency and precision, of regimentation as they would call the required organization, and the use of identical parts. There are cases in which any one of the foregoing elements would be accepted, but more cases in which none, not to say all, would be tolerated. For example, suits made by J. C. Penny and Company, Sears, Roebuck and Company and any of the standard brand name houses would not be acceptable. His separatism would not allow a Spanish American to be seen in such a suit because he would know that the first man coming down the street may be wearing the same suit. Tailors thrive everywhere. Moreover, organization requires much majority rule to which the Spanish American finds it difficult to submit. They laugh at their own inability to organize in some countries by saying that they cannot have a symphony orchestra for this reason. Unfortunately, it is too true for some countries do not have symphony orchestras. Sometimes the lack is supplied by the military where discipline can require sufficient organization to develop a *Banda de los Supremos Poderes* as a military band is called.

Even the medical doctors did not specialize and only recently have they begun to do so. It will be remembered that they advertise themselves as *médico-cirujano*, medical surgeon. Since there have been no large factories, specialization in the assembly-line sense is totally unknown. In summary, it may be said that the education system has not promoted the economy which in turn has not brought about industrialization which would have developed the education system by demanding the necessary training. This vicious circle raises the problem of where and how to break into it without dislocating an entire society. Massive injections of foreign aid do not solve the problem for reasons which have already been partly explained and additional information may be in place here.

The expression "massive injections of foreign aid" uses terminology which in itself disguises the problem. The word "aid" implies helping the people of a foreign country to help themselves in the improvement of their standard of living or, at least, many people so construe it. What happens in reality is that projects are planned and implemented, then, in the process of carrying them out, manpower is needed but the technicians must be imported to supervise and instruct lower echelons (usually nationals). Then when more people are employed more money goes into circulation. But this is new money, imported by the aid program, added to what was already in circulation. Hence, there is a certain amout of inflation, the degree or amount depend-upon the size of the quantities of monies expended which in turn depends upon the size and objectives of the project. Also, there is the additional fact that some people now have more money than ever before and experience has shown that this leads, not to worthy use of leisure, but to trouble and inflation. In many cases, the word "aid" is like charity — it covers a multitude of sins.

If the money is spent on education, perhaps the training of badly needed technicians and others, more frequently than not the graduates are not employed afterwards for they will not work. Instead, they join the higher classes which are averse to using their hands. If the money is spent on roads, when completed there are no more cars to use them than before, no trucks to haul produce, no more produce to be hauled, etc. On the other hand, they do make it easier for more rural folk to go to the city looking for a better life only to be disillusioned for they do not have the required skills. They create ever growing slum areas.

This gloomy picture makes it appear that specialization is, as yet, neither possible nor desirable. It must develop along with the economy, business methods, education and industrialization. The latter can develop only if raw materials are available in abundance with the necessary power coupled with large markets. The elimination of customs barriers by means of a common market or customs union type of arrangement among all the republics of a region would seem to be the solution for the problem of markets. This raises once more the question of ability to organize and to maintain team work over the long haul. That it can be done has been demonstrated by the Flota Gran Colombiana or the merchant fleet maintained by Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela. Even this is frequently on the verge of coming apart at the seams when relations are strained between the countries involved, as so often happens, when the heritage of Spanish separatism rears its head.

Some question has been raised as to the actual extent of the so-called fabulous natural resources that have been supposed to exist in Latin America. There is no doubt that a super abundance of hyrdoelectric power is waiting to be developed in South America. If organization could be imposed in the form of a common market among the ten South American countries, and improved and extended where it has been initiated in the five Central American countries, there would be a burst of economic and industrial progress. The Central American region alone could soon compete with the European Common Market in many respects. As this is being written, the Central American Common Market is a smoothly functioning reality and the envy of

South America where a similar organization is rapidly taking form. The production of hydro-electric power, however, is not as simple a factor as may be thought. It will contribute to industrialization in a very limited way until standardization of electrical systems and equipment and the techniques of producing and maintaining a steady and dependable flow of current are mastered and put into effect. Some countries use 220 volt systems, others use 110 volt current. Nowhere is the current or voltage up to standard being irregular and often as low as 60 volts in a 110 volt system. This is maddening to a hi-fi fan. Private users attempt to protect appliances by connecting a transformer in series. This expedient is never quite satisfactory. The plugs of appliances often cannot be inserted in the wall outlet unles both are made by the same company. Many an appliance, including electric razors, has been damaged by the low, irregular voltage. Electric clocks are not dependable. Speaking of clocks, the twenty-four-hour clock is prevalent, and the more satisfactory metric system of measurements is used everywhere.

At least two other economic factors are worthy of mention at this point. One is the self-sufficiency of the family unit in much of Spanish America. This, in turn, has two aspects, one economic which can be dealt with here, and one which has to do with security and was treated under family life. The self sufficiency or independdence of the family unit may be compared with conditions existing in the United States during the early pioneer and frontier days. Families often were separated from each other by miles of prairie or mountains as in the case of the Trading Posts on the Navaho Reservation today which are fifteen miles or more apart with no neighbors in between; or they were separated by mountains and rivers which formed effective barriers. In addition, all the families of some regions were completely cut off by from sources of supplies of any kind by lack of transportation and communication. The result was, as is so well known, that each family and each individual learned to be resourceful, independent, to solve problems on his own initiative, to find ways to supply needs and entertainment. As a consequence, they made many if not all their tools, produced most of what they needed and, in short, were self-sufficient. The popular belief now is that these conditions have long since passed into history with no continuity, in the United States, except in museums.

In Spanish America, however, much of the economy is of this type, the main resemblance being in the fact that so many hundreds of thousands are, seemingly at least, content with the satisfaction of primitive needs and with a primitive kind of life, i.e., those who are not moving into city slums. Because of this state of affairs, the majority of the families involved are self-contained, self-sufficient units as were the Anglo pioneers. An example, perhaps, is Honduras where roads are only now being built. Until recently, there was one kilometer of asphalt surfaced road in the Republic and that was in the capital city, Tegucigalpa. Transportation was by means of oxcart, horseback, on foot and, more recently, by plane. Nearly all the families of the country produced most of their needs in the form of leather goods, pottery, wood products, vegetables, grain, wool, cotton and other fibers, clothing, etc. These condtions exist even among a large percentage of the families of such progressive countries as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Peru where industrialization has begun. This primitive type of economy exists in all countries, more so where there are numbers of Indians and in these countries it is more pronounced. Quite clearly this type of economy does not produce for export; it does not even produce for the next-door neighbor. Each family unit barely produces enough for itself and this is especially true in the matter of agricultural products that supply the family table. To supply twenty dollars worth of hand tools for working the soil in the gardens and fields, as President Belaunde Terry wanted to do in Peru, would give a boost to the economy of the entire republic, not to mention the improvement in health standards, hygiene, sanitation and education. These conditions obviously stamp their effects upon the entire society, the culture and the individual in the countries concerned. There is little, if any, buying and selling. The individual does not expect to buy, he expects to obtain everything the hard way, through his labor, so much so that he is suspicious of anything that comes easy. When it comes to food, it would be treason to buy it or eat anything not made at home. Hence, food stores do not thrive excepting those which stock items that are necessary but not produced in the region. As for the so-called "instant" foods, they would be feared as though they were the product of the evil one as one chain store learned to its loss in Honduras. "Instant tortillas" would not sell.

A society living in the conditions described above has a most elementary concept of the theory of economics. The tendency is to go in two more or less opposed directions simultaneously. On the one hand there is an extreme under-evaluation of labor and time which results in the sale of many products at ridiculously low prices in view of the time and labor involved. In many cases products are given a priceless artistic touch not found in more advanced economies yet they sell for a pittance.

On the other hand there is another situation in the same economy which is both frustrating and tragic. It is the refusal to accept the principal of lower per-unit profit on volume sales. The frustration lies in the impossibility of bringing about an understanding of this concept in the face of unnecessary tragic results.

In one of the smaller countries there is a dense population which, as in all the other countries, suffers from malnutrition, undernourishment or just plain starvation. The diet consists primarily of locally produced starchy vegetables and imported rice. The country borders on the Pacific and has a small fishing industry. The ships go out in the morning, bring back their catch at night and the entire product of the day's labor is sold in a matter of a few hours in the evening on the wharf. In other words, the catch was limited to the quantity that could be sold quickly in the evening. The fact of the matter is that enough fish were brought in to satisfy the needs of the vicinity immediately surrounding the wharf thus keeping the price up—and the profit. When asked why larger catches were not brought in the answer was that the profit would decrease and there would be a loss. Thinking of the thousands of people inland who never had fish much less red meat, the inevitable next question was asked. Why not bring in a larger volume, sell it at a lower per-unit profit and produce the same amount of gain, if not more, and thus make fish available to the starving population inland? The answer was an uncomprehending stare. At the risk of monotony, let it be emphasized once more: the educated upper class know the theories, but there are no technicians to implement them.

Business Methods

An economy organized as indicated above has methods of doing business suitable to its own purposes, traditions, culture and mentality. In fact, tradition is an all prevading force whose ever-present power, even though not consciously recognized, is incomprehensible to a society accustomed to change and to desiring change in the faith that change per se means progress. Testimony is evident in the Anglo business slogan, "There's a better way to do it, find it."

In the thirteenth century Castilian Spain made a beginning of industrial and commercial life, of which Santiago de Compostela had been, perhaps, the only representative center prior to that date. This was true only because the city had become a religious Mecca. Laborers united in guilds, just as in other western European lands, working together according to the laws of their guild, living in the same street. Many of them were foreigners, Jews or Mudéjares. An export trade of raw materials and wine developed between the towns of the north coast and the merchants of Flanders, England and Germany, and just at the end of the period (1031-1276) the capture of Seville added to the commercial wealth of Castile, through the trade of that city in the western Mediterranean. Interior commerce still encountered the difficulties which had harrassed it in earlier times but some of them were overcome through the development of fairs to facilitate exchange and to bring in products and scarce goods otherwse unavailable. Certain days in the year, usually corresponding with the feast of the patron saint of the town, were set aside by important centers for a general market or fair, on which occasions special measures were taken to assure safety for travellers along the roads and to protect all who might attend, Moslems and Jews as well as Christians. Men naturally travelled in large groups at such times as a matter of safety for protection against highwaymen. The season of the fair might be the only occasion in the year when a town could procure a supply of goods not produced in the region, so that this institution assumed great importance which has not yet totally disappeared.

The Spanish American dwells primarily in the past and this to such an extent that the future tense of his verbs is used to express probability or conjecture in the present, which must be endured for the sake of the next life. For his purposes, the tried and tested methods and techniques of the past are sufficient for today and he violently opposes innovations. This is even more true in matters concerning language because the Royal Spanish Academy has dictated matters linguistic for several centuries. Hence, new terms are accepted into the language with great difficulty unless they are associated with something that is accepted with popular gusto, e.g., coca cola, baseball, football, boxing and other imported fads and fashions which are adopted with all related terminology.

Traditional business methods are still the order of the day in many aspects. Servants are sent to the public market early in the morning to do the day's household shopping. The servant is entrusted with sufficient money to bring back the required groceries, but the servant must also bargain with the women in the stalls for each item that is purchased. Bargaining is an accomplished art and requires considerable time to be caried out to the appropriate finesse. If not so completed, the vendor in the market stall, the servant and her mistress are all disgruntled. If one of the bargainers obtains an advantage there is dissatisfaction on both sides. Only when the proper point of justice and fairness to both sides has been reached is there satisfaction all around. When this situation obtains, and only then, the vendor gives a token of his satisfaction. This is called the *yapa*, known in the State of Louisiana as the *langniape* and in some other Anglo regions as "to boot." When bargaining has been completed and the purchase is being sacked or wrapped, an extra piece is given to the customer in token of satisfaction with the bargain — it is also a token of friendship, particularly when dealing with a customer of long standing.

These business methods undoubtedly began at a time when the entire population was what today would be classified as rural. These methods simply grew up along with the increase in business and are still practiced without thought of the anachronism if, indeed they are out of date in the economy in which they are found. Modern methods are slowly being adopted with the increase in population, the advent of packaging, rapid mass distribution and other factors. It is not now always possible to be sure when to bargain and when prices are fixed. Many shops and stores, particularly in urban centers, have eliminated bargaining, notably branches of foreign businesses, pharmacies (which sell nothing but pharmaceuticals and prescriptions), department stores (now being encouraged by branches of Sears, Roebuck), automobile parts departments, bookstores, restaurants and the like. In other words, bargaining is now being limited mostly to the personal level where it takes place between individuals concerning the product of personal labor or talent.

Yet the personal element is still to be seen in negotiations involving contracts on the wholesale level and in establishing dealerships and agencies. Anglo American salesmanship of the "high pressure" or "hard sell" variety is, for this reason, self defeating. Lack of concern for the business man in the Other American Republics has also paid off in terms of much ill will. This lack of concern and interest for the client is demonstrated in the case of the owner of a chocolate refining plant. He learned of a new, more efficient machine that would refine chocolate faster as well as more economically, or this is how it was reported to him. He wrote to the company in Boston for information. A brief, terse reply indicated that the machine was available and the price was stated. Orders would be welcomed. In the meantime, a manufacturer in Germany, through a local consulate learned of the Spanish American's interest, sent a representative to study his plant, furnished drawings, diagrams, statistics, blueprints and offered to install the machine in a manner most suitable to the owner's business, all this at a somewhat lower price than quoted by the Boston firm. Loyalty, strengthened by World War II, led the factory owner to buy from the Boston firm to his own disadvantage and with considerable unhappiness about his relationships with the firm.

In another case of high pressure salesmanship, a Spanish American automobile dealer was saddled with an order for one hundred trucks. A cursory study would have shown that probably not more than three trucks could be sold annually.

To do business in a satisfactory manner in Latin America requires that it be done on a more personal basis and with the interest of the Spanish American uppermost. It requires that the principals become acquainted, that visits be made to the latter's office or place of business several times before the purpose in hand is mentioned. There may even be an exchange of dinner invitations before the Spanish American inquires about the business or product in question, the terms and related matters. He must become convinced that the foreign salesman is really concerned about his interests and will protect them. He will then give an order and, like as not, it will not be a small one. Thereafter, and so long as he is convinced that his interests are being protected, it will be difficult, if at all possible, to supplant the salesman or to substitute another product. The Spanish American is loyal to his friends, but his loyalty involves something that is incomprehensible to the Anglo. For the purpose in hand, Anglo society may be said to be competitive and all businessmen are in competition with each other. This means that everybody is competing for everybody is in business of some kind or other. Those who are not in business are ignored or are considered as unworthy of being members of society. The attitude of competition has developed a kind of callousness among businessmen and a code of ethics or conduct for the business world. As a result, no one is partcularly concerned if a competitor fails, is bankrupt and loses everything he has. There may even be some relief over the decrease by one in the number of competitors. It is a heartless struggle with no quarter given or asked and often referred to as "dog-eat-dog" competition.

On the otherhand, in Spanish America, society may be described as cooperative. This is true to the extent that businessmen often help each other, which is the incomprehensible part for the Anglo. If, for some reason, a Spanish American business man is not doing well, if his business is sickly or failing, his friends in the business world will send customers to him. This is accomplished by telling a customer that the item he desires is not in stock at the moment. (*Si hay pero no hay*), this means that they carry it but it is not in stock at present. They then refer the customer to the ailing business man and the latter's business begins to pick up. Thus, they lend a hand until the troubled "competitor" gets on his feet again. Hence, competition cannot have the effect, as in the United States, of leading to better or faster service, to a lower price, or to a better product; it does not force uneconomical businesses into bankruptcy for there simply is no real competition. Therefore, interest rates and prices may be high, and service is on a personal basis not measured by its efficiency. No one goes out to drum up sales, to bring in business and no one looks for a better way to do anything. One deals with one's friends. The old, traditional, tried and tested ways are best. This life and this world are to be endured and everybody helps everybody else muddle through. The attempt to apply Anglo techniques and standards to this situation will provide a muddle indeed.

One of the first difficulties encountered by the Anglo residing abroad is to learn where and how to buy the things he needs. Where Anglo drugstores even sell drugs, a Spanish American *farmacia* does not sell thermometers (except the clinical variety), garden hose, sun glasses, greeting cards, alarm clocks, lawn mowers, keyrings nor anything but drugs and prescriptions. Furthermore, it is not cluttered with so much that it is impossible to see anything. Neither is there much advertising, if any, so that, by comparison, it may appear barren or even naked.

Advertising is another interesting aspect of Spanish American business. Many newspapers, as in England, display much advertising on the front page. Many adds are mere translations of United States advertisements which are sometimes mistranslated and otherwise distorted for lack of an understanding of either the language or the customs of the people to whom they are directed. Those ads which have great appeal to Anglos sometimes prove to be the laughing stock of the public when translated. It is also assumed that what is attractive to the Anglo, who lives in a world of abundance, is equally attractive to other nationalities where the mases are starving. So much Anglo advertising appeals to future goals or to standards not in vogue in Latin America. Large display ads are thought to attract attention at first glance. They do furnish much egotistical satisfaction to the advertiser, but they are not always the best producers in Latin America.

There is no doubt, however, about the importance of advertising. It is a considered belief that many of the healthful and hygienic habits now so strongly entrenched among Anglos are, in large part, at least the result of advertising. Much oral hygiene may be due to the once front rank radio programs of Amos 'n Andy who so effectively advertised pepsodent toothpaste in the 1920's and 1930's. The advertising of soaps and detergents, deodorants, etc., have undoubtedly contributed to good health habits. The lack of the same advertising, until recent years, in Latin America and its present lack of adaptation may be contributing adversely, or at least, not positively. Advertising, in theory at least, is founded on the basic wants and needs of (Anglo American) human beings which may not be the same for Spanish Americans. At least they have not reached the same stage of sophistication where luxuries have become necessities. Many products have "taken a hold" in spite of advertising.

It may come as a surprise to the "Windy City" to learn that its name is taken in vain in Peru. At the end of a long, hot, dusty trip by bus to the eastern side of the Andes a hotel was sought. Upon registering in the Hotel of the Andes in Cajamarca, a question asking for the bathroom in the usual Spanish terminology produced no results. After much discussion, description and explanation, the room clerk finally exclaimed: "*¡Ah, el Chicago!*" Oh, the Chicago! The imported commode stool had arrived proudly bearing the boldly stamped name of the city of origin, Chicago, and this is now the name of the bathroom in that hotel in Peru.

Many another product, American or otherwise, has suffered the same or a similar mis-identification, as for example, Calumet. This trade name represents all baking powder in one country. Which kind of calumet do you want? Royal? K. C.? Or which kind of apple pie would you like? Cherry? Peach? or apple applepie?

Advertising is almost inextricably bound up with credit and this has been a source of friction among the Americas since independence. The personal element in business relationshps with Spanish Americans will be overlooked to the sorrow of the one who is guilty. The Spanish American, to repeat, considers everything in the personal light and for this reason he finds it hard to be impersonal although he may occasionally sound like it. Because of this personal attitude toward everything, to refuse him credit nationally or in business circles is tantamount to a personal affront. It indicates distrust and lack of faith in the individual, which he cannot understand, and he can consider it only as a personal matter and as a reflection upon himself. Nationals from other countries may insist upon their own methods and procedures, attitudes and techniques, but they do so at their own cost.

As a matter of statistics, credit collections in Latin America have been better than in Anglo America. Years ago Singer Sewing Machine agents swarmed over Latin America and penetrated to the uttermost depths of mountain and jungle. They sold sewing machines everywhere and on credit. Collections were better than in the United States by one percent. Two things that are omnipresent in Spanish America are the singer sewing machine and the five-gallon gasoline can, the latter because it is most convenient as a container for transporting both gasoline and water.

Finally, there is one principle that is often overlooked in societies having a low standard of living, namely, that these people cannot afford to be honest in the Anglo sense of the word. This is not a moral judgment, not an indictment, nor an adverse criticism. It is a simple statement of fact. With eighty to ninety percent of the population suffering from starvation there is a tragic and bitter struggle for survival. A crust of bread is a grand prize and any means of obtaining it, fair or foul, is good because it postpones death a few more minutes or hours. All means to the end of obtaining nourishment are justifiable on this basis. Consequently, there is much that, in more affluent societies, would be called dishonest and even criminal. For these reasons there often are customs which, to those more comfortably situated, seem highly inefficient to say the least. Street cars and buses are examples, inasmuch as Anglo Americans are accustomed to such service with each unit of transportation under the full control of a single employee of the company. This one person is the driver who is licensed by state law for the purpose, i.e., as chauffeur. Beside his seat on the bus is a mechanical gadget which receives and counts the fares. This system works because of the cultural heritage of honesty and the value placed upon this characteristic. It is operative to the extent that newspapers may be left unattended on the sidewalk and each customer deposits the appropriate coins when he takes one. A bottle of milk may be deposited on the front doorstep before dawn and still be there when the sleepy customer blindly reaches for it at breakfast time.

In Spanish America the cultural heritage of poverty among the masses dictates a different system. Each bus or streetcar has its licensed chauffeur, driver or operator. Here the similarity ceases. Beside him there is no mechanical gadget to collect and count the fares. Instead there is a conductor who counts the passengers as they board the vehicle and sells each one a ticket. He is followed by an inspector who inspects each ticket and then demands an account ing from the conductor. Periodically along the line, other inspectors board the vehicle, one after another at different stops, to verify the accounts of the previous inspectors and the conductor.

The rampant distrust and seeming dishonesty are due in part to the human instinct for survival and the all pervading poverty, and in part to the irresistible penchant to outwit the system, the regulations and the laws. Success in this game is stamped with social approval, and the higher the stakes the greater the approval of success. Honesty between individuals, however, is in a different category as has been seen in an earlier chapter.

When the maid gets back with the morning's shopping, which she bargained for in the market, everything is often put away in the pantry under lock and key by the housekeeper or the lady of the house. When the cook needs anything, each little quantity involved in the process of cooking, no matter how small, is doled out by the *ama*, the housekeeper, or the lady of the house who has the key. There are many other keys: to the front gate, another perhaps for the front door, although in most cases the maid opens this door to the occupants as well as to visitors; keys for rooms, for each drawer in the chest and for each jewelry box or others in the drawers, all in addition to the keys for the office, desk, filing cabinet and perhaps for other pieces of office equipment, storage rooms, etc. The weight of keys can become quite noticeable.

There is a key to the front gate because each house is surrounded by a high wall to prevent illegal entry. The top of the wall may be covered with broken glass set in cement. Windows and doors are covered with wrought iron grills except in the case of stores where, as mentioned previously, solid metal shutters for the windows are customary. These are the response to possible damage during *manifestaciones*, *pronunciamientos* and actual revolutions.Then there is the *ronda* or guard. He is a member of the national guard and is assigned to a certain beat. All the residents on this beat, in some countries, contribute on a monthly basis to his salary on the theory that he protects their property from burglars, maurauders and thieves. There is a quaint custom, however, that nullifies the entire procedure. Historically, during campaigns, the night guards were required to blow a whistle at specified intervals to assure the officer of the day that they were not asleep. The carry-over of this custom now serves as a warning to any and all prowlers that the guard is coming.

Wood, when used for either cooking or heating, is bargained for in some countries by the stick, in others by the *mula*. An entire truck load will be counted out and sold by the stick. The *mula* consists of two small bundles, originally the size that would constitute a load and would balance each other on each side of a mule. Now, the bundles are much smaller and sell for much more.

When the owner parks his car down town, a swarm of street urchins is usually present to offer to "protect" it. It is advisable to accept the offer, that is one of them, inasmuch as the pittance it costs is small compared with the damage that may be done to the car by those who would have protected it. This, of course, is a better form of charity than outright begging and giving.

The tragedy of poverty is everywhere evident in the ragged, barefooted men and women and the urchins who go about looking for bits of paper, empty cigarette packs, bottles, anything that may be sold. A scrap of metal is a gold mine for it sells by weight. The sixteenth century picaresque novel of Spain was based on the wiles and trickery of just such as these. The Spanish example par excellence is to be found in the classic *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the anonymous novel of 1554, and the picaresque novels of Cervantes of a later date. In Spanish America there is a similar novel titled *El Roto* by Joaquín Edwards Bello, of Chile, and a previous one by the Mexican, Fernández de Lizardi, *El Periquillo Sarniento*.

Because of the numerous political and economic factors involved, which have been described previously in the main, attitudes towards banks and related institutions are also somewhat different. The fact that savings accounts have not been very popular is revealing in a double sense. First of all it reflects the widespread poverty; secondly there is the distrust of banks; and thirdly, there is little concern for the future combined with the distaste for *papeleo* or "red tape," which are probably basic to the whole structure. Banking is the business of national banks and they are literally *national*. They are established by the national government with all that is implied in the political economy of these countries. Hence, the banks were considered as unreliable, not to be trusted, therefore savings accounts were not popular. This compares with the days when Anglos hid their savings in mattresses, attics, teapots, or buried them in secluded places, some of which still turn up today.

Spanish Americans, when visiting the United States, often find it difficult to understand the national banks which, as a cultural carryover and because of the name, are expected to be operated and managed by the Federal Government. Savings accounts bring to mind the matter of checking accounts. Here it is the Anglo who feels frustrated when the Spanish American bank does not deliver his cancelled checks at the end of the month. He hastens to the bank to claim them only to learn that it almost requires an act of congress to get *one* out, not to mention the entire month's collection. He soon learns to keep accurate records. The cancelled check for a given transaction, or a photostatic copy, can be obtained when necessary by presenting the proper application and supporting documentation. Time must then be allowed for proper processing.

The lack of concern for the future which, in many cases is the cause of a lack of interest in savings accounts, also has a bearing on life insurance, or insurance of any kind. One lives for today and not for tomorrow or for the distant future, consequently there is no interest in insuring for a vague future, much less for an accident that cannot be seen now and probably will not happen — after all God's will cannot be controverted. At long last, insurance companies are finally making inroads into Spanish America, notably the Pan American Life Insurance Company and automobile insurance companies. The momentum of the change will gradually increase.

Those who could afford savings accounts and insurance were so few that the demand did not spur the establishment of banks. Then came the agricultural mortgage banks and small business financing banks so that slowly they and their various accounts began to gain respect and to prosper. The movement was especially promoted by those banks or government agencies which loan funds to finance small businesses, operated by individuals, such as handcrafts, leatherworking, cabinet making shops, ceramics, and others. They would also find local and export outlets for their products. This has given a boost to the banking business and to the use of the various services of the banks. Slowly they are gaining their proper place in the business world of Spanish America and the momentum increases as the average per capita annual income inches upwards.

Given time and the opportunity to work out the solutions for their problems, as they see them, and in accordance with the genuis of their own personality and culture, without being pressured into hurried solutions by foreign "do-gooders" they will preserve, increase and enhance the useful values of their own culture to the benefit of mankind. Testimony to this and to their fundamental philosophy may be seen in the frontispiece.

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Appendix I

Country	The Land of	Area Sq. Mi.	Population
Argentina	Meat, wheat & politics	1,073,700	22,100,000
Bolivia	The tin baron	416,040	3,422,000
Brazil	The carrioca	3,288,045	67,306,406
Chile	Copper & nitrates	286,396	7,795,000
Colombia	Diamonds, emeralds & salt	439,519	14,446,580
Costa Rica	"Ticos"	19,575	1,224,500
Cuba	"The Pearl of the Antilles"	44,218	6,933,253
Dominican Republic	Where Columbus rests	18,640	4,196,808
Ecuador	"The Storehouse of Colonial Art"	104,506	4,455,000
El Salvador	Cuzcatlán	8,061	2,612,139
Guatemala	Brilliant Indian Textiles	42,042	3,822,233
Haiti	The only French-speaking republic in the New World	10,816	3,539,000
Honduras	Mahogany	44,480	2,014,391
México	The Aztecs	758,450	38,849,465
Nicaragua	The cattle country of Central America	54,864	1,581,807
Panamá	The cross roads of America	28,753	1,083,900
Paraguay	The bilingual country	157,047	1,807,872
El Perú	The Inca & the llama	496,223	11,191,000
Uruguay	Free education	72,172	2,845,734
Venezuela	Steel & "Black Gold"	352,146	7,438,887

ROLL CALL

Capital	Independence	Currency	Language	National Hero	Life Span
Buenos Aires	9 July 1816	Peso = 7¢	Spanish	José de San Martín	57
La Paz	6 August 1825	Peso boliviano 9,000 = $1.00	Spanish	Antonio José de Sucre	49
Brazilia	7 September 1822	Cruzeiro ½¢	Portuguese	José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva	39
Santiago	18 September 1810	Peso 900 to $1.00	Spanish	Bernardo O'Higgins	41
Bogotá	20 July 1810	Peso 4 to $1.00	Spanish	Francisco de Paula Santander	
San José	15 September 1821	Colón = $0.1764	Spanish	Juan Rafael Mora	54
La Habana	20 May 1902	Peso = $1.00	Spanish	José Martí	
Santo Domingo	27 February 1844	Peso = $1.00	Spanish	Juan Pablo Duarte	
Quito	10 August 1809	Sucre = .066	Spanish	Eugenio Espejo	
San Salvador	15 September 1821	Colón = 40¢	Spanish	José Matías Delgado	49
Guatemala City	15 September 1821	Quetzal = $1.00	Spanish	José Rufino Barrios	44
Port-au-Prince	1 January 1804	Gourde	French	Jean Jacques Dessalines	32
Tegucigalpa	15 September 1821	Lempira = 50¢	Spanish	Francisco Marazán	
Mexico City D. F.	16 September 1810	Peso = 8¢	Spanish	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	38
Managua	15 September 1839	Córdoba = 20¢	Spanish	Miguel Larreynaga	
Panama City	3 November 1903	Balboa = $1.00	Spanish	Tomás Herrera	61
Asunción	14 May 1811	Guaraní = 48¢	Spanish Guaraní	No revolution	
Lima	28 July 1821	Sol = 3¢	Spanish	Hipólito Unánue	
Montevideo	25 August 1825	Peso = 53¢	Spanish	José Gervasio Artigas	
Caracas	5 July 1811	Bolívar = 30¢	Spanish	Simón Bolívar	

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